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the mouth of that river is nearly fifty miles north of the line between the Dakotas. 114 174

Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, in his note on the Cheyenne Indians (S. Dak. Hist. Coll., Vol. I, p. 146) says concerning the locality in which that tribe crossed the Missouri: "For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at or about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne river, South Dakota." He also says: "Alexander Henry says the Salteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri river at about 1690."

Their Upper Missouri Villages. We will briefly trace the localities in which the Mandans have lived on the Missouri river since their most ancient and definite village remains, actually discovered by the whites, were occupied, and so far as information has come to hand. 361•

We regard it as almost certain that when La Verendrye visited the Mandans in 1738 and 1742 they were stationed in the neighborhood of and across from what is now Mandan, N. D., and were, according to that explorer, in "five forts on the two banks of the river"—how many were on each side not appearing. Lewis and Clarke's interpreters informed them that forty years prior to 1804 they were settled in nine villages—seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri, about eighty miles below the Fort Mandan built by that expedition. The closest calculation we can make of the actual distances traveled by Lewis and Clarke after they found the first or most southerly Mandan ruin—as shown by the data in their journal—until they had reached the most northerly of what they call the nine deserted villages, shows that the stretch of river covered by those sites was about twenty-eight miles (instead of twenty miles, as their journal states), and taking as true Dr. Coues' statement that the first Mandan ruin found by them was eight miles below the lower end of what he says is Sibley Island, or about twenty-two miles below Bismarck, we find that the northermost deserted Mandan village in that group must have been located about six miles north of Mandan, N. D. But, as will be seen from Lewis and Clarke's journal inserted hereinafter, they actually point out only eight village sites in that group,

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•361 and four of those are stated to be on the northeasterly and four on the southwesterly side of the Missouri. And by extending the calculation of distances on up the river, upon the further data of that expedition, we find that it is but about sixty-eight and one-half miles (instead of eighty, as they state it to be) from where they built Fort Mandan (say, seven miles below the mouth of Knife river) to said first or most southerly Mandan ruin. In other words, starting from eight miles below Sibley Island as the most southerly site (on the east side of the Missouri), the succeeding seven deserted villages are (2) fourteen miles on east side; (3) fourteen and one-half miles on west side; (4) sixteen and one-half miles on east side; (5) nineteen and one-half miles on west side; (6) twenty-three miles on west side; (7) twenty-six miles on east side, and (8) twenty-eight miles on west side—counting northward. The Lewis and Clarke journal says, by way of summary, that "these villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles." (London ed., Vol. I, p. 156.)

About twenty-four or twenty-five miles farther up the Missouri from the most northerly of said group of eight or nine village sites Lewis and Clarke found another on the east side which they call "the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras." (P. 157.) This would be about thirty miles above Bismarck, and it was eight miles above "an old village on the north" (northeast side of the Missouri) "which was the former residence of the Ahnahaways, who now live between the Mandans and Minnetarees." Another old Mandan village "which has been deserted for many years" was found about four miles farther up on the west side. The Lewis and Clarke journal adds: "A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground, are two old villages of Ricaras, one on top of the hill, the other in the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated at three or four miles from the Ricara villages three old villages of Mandans near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above." (P. 158.) This group of four Mandan and two Aricara villages would thus be shown to extend from about thirty-four to thirty-nine miles above Bismarck; and it seems probable that this locality is referred to by the Aricara

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chief who was with Lewis and Clarke when they passed the second deserted Mandan village, and who told them that the Mandans "once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river" (doubtless the eight or nine village group already referred to) "till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher, whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position." (London ed., Vol. I, p. 154.) Now speaking roundly, forty miles would span the gap between the oldest group of Mandan village sites and this locality, which is upwards of thirty miles above Bismarck. But it will be seen that Lewis and Clark speak of the Aricaras having come to that locality of the Mandans "for protection;" while at another point in their journal (p. 177) they mention two villages of the Mandans (who had doubtless been living in some of the so-called "nine villages")*** as "finding themselves wasted away before the smallpox and the Sioux,*** and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras," of the remaining Mandans, impelled by similar causes, having "emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation." This would indicate that they, within forty years prior to 1804, went up-river into the neighborhood of the Aricaras for protection. Nowhere in any of the early chronicles is it made clear where the Aricaras were located, above the Mandans, when the latter "moved up the river opposite to" them, or when, later on, the Mandans on the west side "emigrated in a body to the Ricara nation, where they formed themselves into two villages and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them." Was it here, where these "two old villages of Ricaras" were located? If so, there should be found a Mandan village site somewhere in the neighborhood on the east side of the Missouri, but none is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke. And, as seen, Lewis and Clarke say the Aricaras came to the Mandans for protection in that locality. Here is an apparent difficulty which, involving time, locality and mutual protection, is not satisfactorily cleared up by any comparison of the various accounts of the early explorers which the writer has been able to make.

In Part I of this paper will be found a treatment of the subject of the various habitations of the Aricaras, and, in connection therewith, of the Mandans and their relations to the former. as shown by the journals of Lewis and Clarke and others; and reference is here made to that part of this paper to avoid repetition

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000 and as throwing further light upon the Mandans in this relation. (See Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp 388-402, et seq.)

Without attempting to exhibit a continuous account of the Mandans, as to locus, from the time when the first visitors were among them early in the last century down to the present day—since such treatment of them is not within the scope of this paper as originally conceived by the writer—we will outline their principal movements as tribes after they went northward from their home at the "Mandan Villages" below Knife river.

•361 **Their Recent Contact with Other Tribes.** In 1845 the Hidatsa or Minnetaree (otherwise known as Gros Ventre or Big Bellies) Indians moved up the river from the Knife river, some forty miles, to the immediate vicinity of the site of Fort Berthold, which stockaded trading post was built there that year by the American Fur Company and the Indians, on the north side of the Missouri in what is now McLean county, North Dakota. The Mandans followed them soon after, removing thence from the "Mandan Villages." (See, for an account of Fort Berthold, Fort Atkinson and Fort Stevenson, and the Indians at that point, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 572-578; also note of Dr. D. W. Robinson in Vol. I, p. 134, and note by the writer of this article, id., pp. 359-60.) The Aricaras joined the other Indians above referred to at Fort Berthold in 1862.

The "Confederated Village." There what was long known as the Confederated Village of the Mandans, Minnetarees and Aricaras was established, and this stockaded village stronghold was occupied by those tribes until about 1888, when they broke up their urban establishment and scattered out into the country westward and northward, comprising the Fort Berthold reservation at large, the Mandans having practically all crossed to the southwesterly side of the Missouri and settled in the area embraced within from a few miles below to many miles above the mouth of the Little Missouri, all of the Indians in question having dissolved their tribal relations and taken lands in individual allotments and become citizens under the severalty laws of the United States, where they now reside, the Mandans being a mere remnant of their former prowess as tribes.

Some few salient incidents in the experience of the Mandans in the last century, incidental to general history, will be touched upon later on in this paper.

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173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been **hunting** or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

●361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

361 **Smallpox.** Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two 166 eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty [164] miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other 721 seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

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the fierce attacks of their enemies; and deeming the position unfavorable they removed higher up the river and took possession of a precipitous and tenable point of land formed by an involution of the Missouri, where they formed one compact village in 1776. The eastern Mandans had settled in two villages, but finding the attacks of the Sioux hard to be resisted united also in one village. The two divisions of Mandan villages were still separated by the Missouri river, but seated directly opposite each other about three miles apart, including lowlands.

The position is estimated to be sixteen hundred miles from the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi. There they were visited by Lewis and Clarke on the 27th October, 1804. This was a memorable and an auspicious event in their history, as these intrepid American explorers determined to pass their first winter in this vicinity. They built Fort Mandan, a few miles distant, on a heavily wooded piece of bottom land, which yielded trees of sufficient size for erecting quarters for themselves and the men. They immediately opened an intercourse with the Mandans and established a friendship with them, which was strengthened by the incidents of a winter's residence." (pp. 239-240).

The following is an extract from Mr. Mitchell's letter above referred to: "The early portion of their history I gather from the narration of Mr. Macintosh, who, it seems, belonged to, or was in some way connected with the French Trading Company as far back as 1772. According to his narration, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1773, crossed over the country to the Missouri river and arrived at one of the Mandan villages on Christmas day. He gives a long and somewhat romantic description of the manner in which he was received, and dwells at some length upon the greatness of the Mandan population, their superior intelligence and prowess in war. He says at that time the Mandans occupied nine large towns lying contiguous and could at short notice muster fifteen thousand mounted warriors." Clarke continues:

"I am inclined to think that the statistics of the author whom I have quoted are somewhat exaggerated, and at the time he visited the Missouri the Mandans were not so numerous as he represents. There are, however, the ruins of five villages in the neighborhood of the present village, which were evidently at one time occupied by the Mandans; and judging from the space which

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these 'deserted villages' cover they must have been powerful communities, at least as far as numbers could make them powerful.

"Whatever may have been their population, there is no doubt that the Mandans suffered more severely from the smallpox than any of the other tribes, and were, in fact, nearly exterminated by it. Mr. Girard says that when he joined them in 1849 the memory of the terrible ravages made by this disease was still fresh in their minds, and they stated that only thirty-five survived the terrible ordeal. He thinks that the disease overtook them in 1832 or 1833, when there were five villages of from sixty to two hundred and fifty lodges each, in all about one thousand lodges, averaging some thirteen persons to a lodge. I am inclined to think he is mistaken in regard to the date, and that they had the smallpox in 1837 instead of 1832-3. Schoolcraft, speaking of this, says: 'Surrounded, as the Mandans were, by active enemies, and doomed, as they appeared to be, to extinction, they might have resisted this course of depopulation a long period had it not been for the reoccurrence of smallpox among them in the summer of 1837. By this fatal calamity their numbers were reduced in a few days to less than one-sixteenth of their whole number. One of the reports of the disease reduced the survivors to thirty-one, another to one hundred and twenty-three.'

"They maintained their individuality as a tribe and increased their numbers by stringent marriage laws. They did not allow their women to marry into other bands or tribes unless the man would renounce his tribal relations, join them and agree that the children should talk the Mandan language and be reared in their customs and beliefs." (P. 241.)

Clarke discards without discussion the idea that their physical peculiarities or language indicates Welsh antecedents. He proceeds:

"The physical peculiarities of many of the Mandans, viz., their blue eyes and light hair, have led to the wildest kind of speculation in regard to their origin, some claiming that they were a lost Welsh colony and that their language supported this theory. It is hardly necessary to say that this has no foundation in fact. Some of the children also have gray hair, but this probably 'only denotes a morbid state of it, analogous to that which supervenes in albinoes.' This peculiarity is not limited to the Mandans, the

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whites; it would take a whole summer to make the journey, and that since they were at war with the Pananas the men would not undertake to go far, the roads being closed to them. That cattle were abundant on the prairies, far larger and fatter than those we had seen on their prairies; their coat white and of several colors. He showed us horns split in half, of a greenish color, which hold nearly three pints. In all the huts they have them in use as ladles, proving that they have killed many when the road was open. That was all I could learn even by chance, as I had relied on my interpreter, that I would have time to be thoroughly informed at leisure.

"Six days after the Assiniboines left I sent my son, the Chevalier, with Sieur Nolant, six Frenchmen and several Mandans, to the nearest fort, which is on the bank of the river. If well received they were to sleep there, to get the best information of the course of the river; who dwell there; if they are acquainted with the lower part, in accordance with what was told us; to learn all that could be ascertained by signs and demonstrations. After their departure Mr. de la Marque walked about to observe the size of their fort and their fortifications.

The Village. "I decided to have the huts counted. It was found that there were a hundred and thirty of them. All the streets, squares and huts resemble each other. Several of our Frenchmen wandered about; they found the streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad, the palisades supported on cross pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above when needed, as in the bastion there are four at each curtain, well flanked. The fort is built on a height in the open prairie, with a ditch upwards of fifteen feet deep by fifteen to eighteen feet wide. Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts, which can be removed when threatened by an enemy. If all their forts are alike they may be called impregnable to Indians. Their fortifications are not Indian. This nation is mixed white and black.

"The women are faily good looking, especially the white, many with blonde and fair hair. Both men and women of this nation are very laborious; their huts are large and spacious, separated into several compartments by thick planks; nothing is left lying about; all their baggage is in large bags hung on posts; their beds

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revealed in their responses, it would seem that the influence of so notable and numerous a company as sat down among them during that winter might and should have evolved more than seems to have been learned by the members of that commission and recorded in those journals. Similar observations would seem to be warranted concerning the relative brevity and absence of more detailed and exhaustive information touching their ancient customs, religion, etc. However, observations such as are here indulged in must be regarded as largely speculative. Just how much the patriarchs and leading men of the Mandans had stored up along the lines indicated, and how much of what they did possess they were willing to impart to this the first formal delegation of whites who had ever visited them from the south, is matter of mystery, not of history.

The journal entry first to be reproduced here occurs under date of Friday, October 19th, 1804.

First Mandan Ruins. After seventeen and a half miles we encamped on the north, opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills, forming a cone at the top, one being about ninety, another sixty feet in height, and some of less elevation. Our chief tells us that the calumet bird lives in the holes formed by the filteration of the water from the top of these hills through the sides. Near to one of these holes, on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain, are the remains of an old village which is high, strong, and has been fortified; this our chief tells us is the remains of one of the Mandan villages, and are the first ruins which we have seen of that nation in ascending the Missouri; opposite to our camp is a deep bend to the south, at the extremity of which is a pond. (Page 153, Vol 1, Lewis and Clarke's journal Original Edition, London, 1815.)"

Under the date-heading next following, the Lewis and Clarke Journal refers to a "creek on the north" which, according to Dr. Cones, is "Shepherd's Creek" of the Lewis and Clarke map and now known as Apple Creek; it is stated as being six miles below the southerly end of the island mentioned in said Journal. That creek is about seven or eight miles below Bismarck, N. D. The Journal continues:

"Saturday 20. At eight miles we reached the lower point of an island[1] in the middle of the river, though there is no current on

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•361 the south. This island is covered with willows and extends about two miles, there being a small creek[2] coming in from the south at its lower extremity. After making twelve miles we encamped on the south, at the upper part of a bluff containing stone-coal of an inferior quality; immediately below this bluff and on the declivity of a hill, are the remains of a village covering six or eight acres, formerly occupied by the Mandans, who, says our Ricara chief, once lived in a number of villages on each side of the river, till the Sioux forced them forty miles higher; whence, after a few years' residence, they moved to their present position. (id 154)"

"Sunday, 21. * * * * * At two miles from our encampment we came to the ruins of a second Mandan village, which was in existence at the same time with that just mentioned. It is situated on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful and extensive plain, which is now covered with herds of buffalo; nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south of the Missouri; and there is another also about two miles further on the north, a little off the river.

"Monday, 22nd. In the morning we passed an old Mandan village on the south, near our camp; at four miles another on the same side. (id 155)"

"Monday, 22nd. * * * * At six we reached an island about one mile in length at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins, and two miles beyond a bad sandbar. At eight miles are the remains of another Mandan village on the south.

"These villages, which are nine in number, are scattered along each side of the river within a space of twenty miles; almost all that remains of them is the wall which surrounded them, the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses and occasionally human skulls and the teeth and bones of men, and different animals, which are scattered on the surface of the ground."(id 156)

000 **Mandan Chief.** "Wednesday, 24th. The day was again dark and it snowed a little in the morning. At three miles we came to a point on the south, where the river, by forcing a channel across a former bend, has formed a large island[3] on the north. On this island we found one of the grand chiefs of the Mandans, who with Five Lodges was on a hunting excursion. He met his enemy the Ricara chief, with great ceremony and apparent cordiality, and

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smoked with him. After visiting his lodges, the grand chief and his brother came on board our boat for a short time; we then proceeded and encamped on the north, at seven miles from our last night's station and below the old village of the Mandans and Ricaras. Here four Mandans came down from a camp above, and our Ricara chief returned with them to their camp, from which we augur favorably of their pacific views towards each other. The land is low and beautiful, and covered with oak and cottonwood, but has been too recently hunted to afford much game.

"25th. The morning was cold and the wind gentle from the southeast; at three miles we passed a handsome high prairie on the south, and on an eminence about forty feet above the water, and extending back for several miles on a beautiful plain, was situated an old village of the Mandan nation, which has been deserted for many years. A short distance above it, on the continuation of the same rising ground are two old villages of the Ricaras, one on the top of hill, the other on the level plain, which have been deserted only five years ago. Above these villages is an extensive low ground for several miles, in which are situated, at three or four miles from the Ricara villages, three old villages of the Mandans near together. Here the Mandans lived when the Ricaras came to them for protection, and from this they moved to their present situation above. In the low ground the squaws raised their corn, and the timber of which there was a little near the villages, was supplied from the opposite side of the river, where it was and still is abundant.

"As we proceeded, several parties of Mandans both on foot and horseback came along the river to view us, and were very desirous that we should land and talk to them; this we could not do on account of the sandbreaks on the shore, but we sent out the Ricara chief to them in a perioque." (id 158.)

The Traders. "26th. We set out early with a southwest wind, and after putting the Ricara chief on shore to join the Mandans, who were in great numbers along it, we proceeded to the camp of the grand chiefs, four miles distant. Here we met Mr. M'Cracken, one of the Northwest or Hudson Bay company, who arrived with another person about nine days ago to trade for horses and buffalo robes. Two of the chiefs came on board with some of their household furniture, such as earthen pots and a little corn, and went on

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where they join each other. Each row contains four rooms, of fourteen feet square, and seven feet high, with plank ceiling, and the roof slanting so as to form a loft above the rooms, the highest part of which is eighteen feet from the ground. The backs of the huts form a wall of that height, and opposite the angle the place of the wall was supplied by picketing. In the area were two rooms for stores and provisions. The latitude by observation is 47 degrees, 21 minutes, 47 seconds, and the computed distance from the mouth of the Missouri, sixteen hundred miles." (id 176)

Sioux Threats. "In the course of the day several Indians came down to partake of our fresh meat; among the rest, three chiefs of the second Mandan village. They inform us that the Sioux on the Missouri above the Cheyenne river, threaten to attack them this winter; that these Sioux are much irritated at the Ricaras for having made peace through our means with the Mandans, and have lately ill-treated three Ricaras who carried the pipe of peace to them, by beating them and taking away their horses. We gave them assurances that we would protect them from all their enemies." (id 176)

Mandan Villages and Tribe. "The villages near which we are established are five in number, and are the residence of three distinct nations—the Mandans, the Ahnahaways and the Minnetarees. The history of the Mandans, as we received it from our interpreters and from the chiefs themselves, and as it is attested by existing monuments, illustrates, more than that of any other nation, the unsteady movements and the tottering fortunes of the American nations. Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled forty years ago in nine villages, the ruins of which we passed about eighty miles below, and situated seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two finding themselves wasting away before the smallpox and the Sioux, united into one village, and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the remaining seven to five villages, till at length they emigrated in a body to the Ricaras nation, where they formed themselves into two villages, and joined those of their countrymen who had gone before them. In their new residence they were still insecure, and at length the three villages ascended the Missouri to their present position. The two

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who had emigrated together still settled in the two villages on the northwest side of the Missouri, while the single village took a position on the southeast side. In this situation they were found by those who visited them in 1796, since which the two villages have united in one. They are now in two villages, one on the southeast of the Missouri, the other on the opposite side, and at the distance of three miles across. The first, in an open plain, contains about forty or fifty lodges, built in the same way as the Ricaras; the second, the same number, and both may raise about three hundred and fifty men.

Mahahas. "On the same side of the river, and at a distance of four miles from the lower Mandan village, is another called Mahaha. It is situated on a high plain at the mouth of the Knife river, and is the residence of the Ahnahaways. This nation, whose name indicates that they were "people whose village is on a hill," formerly resided on the Missouri, about thirty miles below where they now live. The Assiniboines and Sioux forced them to a spot five miles higher, where the greatest part of them were put to death, and the rest emigrated to their present situation, in order to obtain an asylum near the Minnetarees. They are called by the French, Soulier Noir or Shoe Indians; by the Mandans, Wattasoons, and their whole force is about fifty men.

Minnetarees. "On the south side of the same Knife river, half a mile above the Mahaha, and in the same open plain with it, is a village of Minnetarees surnamed Metaharta, who are about one hundred and fifty men in number. On the opposite side of the Knife river, and one and a half mile above this village, is a second of the Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetarees' nation. It is situated in a beautiful low plain, and contains four hundred and fifty warriors. The accounts which received of the Minnearees were contradictory. The Mandans say that this people came out of the water to the east, and settled near them in their former establishment, in nine villages; that they were very numerous, and fixed themselves in one village on the southern side of the Missouri. A quarrel about a buffalo divided the nation, of which two bands went into the plains, and were known by the names of the Crow and the Paunch Indians, and the rest moved to their establishment. The Minnetarees proper assert, on the contrary, that they grew where they now

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000 consisting of men, women and children. There was an Irishman with them, who had come from the Northwest Company of traders. We remained here an hour, and then proceeded. A number of the Indians kept along the shore opposite the boat all day, on the south side, on which side we encamped. Some of them remained with us to 12 at night and then returned to their village.

●361 **Mandan Village.** "Saturday, 27th. At half past seven we arrived at the first village of the Mandans and halted about two hours. This village contains forty or fifty lodges built in the manner of those of the Rickarees. These Indians have better complexions than most other Indians, and some of the children have fair hair. We passed a bluff on the south side with a stratum of black resembling coal. There is a bottom on the north side, where the second Mandan village is situated. We went about a mile above it and encamped on the same bottom, for the purpose of holding a council with the natives. This place is 1,610 miles from the mouth of the river du Bois, where we first embarked to proceed on the expedition. There are about the same number of lodges and people in this village as in the first. These people do not bury their dead, but place the body on a scaffold, wrapped in a buffalo robe, where it lies exposed.

"Sunday, 28th. The day was clear and we remained here, but could not sit in council, the wind blew so violent.

648 **Council.** "Monday, 29th. We had again a clear day and some of the principal men came from each village of the Mandans, from the Watasoons, Sioux, and one from the Gros Ventres, and all sat in council together. At 11 o'clock, when the council met, a shot was fired from our bow piece, and the commanding officers took the chiefs by the hand. Captain Lewis, though an interpreter, delivered a speech, gave a suit of clothes to each of the chiefs and some articles for their villages. He also sent a suit to the chief of the Gros Ventres. At three o'clock another gun was fired at the breaking up of the council, and they all appeared satisfied. Captain Lewis gave an iron mill to the Mandan nation to grind their corn, with which they were highly pleased.

"Tuesday, 30th. We remained here to know the answer of the Indians. At ten Captain Lewis, with a party of our people and an Indian or two, went about six miles up the river to view an island, in order to ascertain whether or not it would suit for

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(Coale & Maxwell, Baltimore, 1816), and he also mentions briefly the tribe in his "Views of Louisiana," (Schaeffer & Maund, Balto., 1817.) He was a lawyer of keen observation, given somewhat to philosophical reflections upon the red man. The party reached the Mandan villages July 26, 1811. We quote as follows from his "Voyage," etc.:

Villages. "Wednesday, 26th, (July, 1811.) Continued our voyage through a beautiful country, on both sides of the river. In the afternoon passed by all five of the Mandan villages, which are situated upon high open plains, the village of She-he-ke, divided from the others by a handsome stream. The inhabitants had gathered to the bank to see us, several waded into the water, but returned when we beckoned to them not to approach. The men were generally naked, the women dressed according to their age or quality, from the course elk skin, to the elegant agalia. It was late at night before we reached the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47 degrees, 13 minutes N."

Brackenridge describes the grim spectacle of the aerial sepulcher of the Mandans:

Burial Scaffolds. "We made several excursions to the villages below, the nearest about six miles off; but as they differ but little from those of the Arikara, I will give no particular description of them. I noticed but one thing as remarkable.

"About two miles on this side of the first village, my attention was attracted by a number of small scaffolds, distributed over several acres of ground on the slope of a hill. I soon discovered that this was a depository of the dead. The scaffolds were raised on forks about ten feet, and were sufficiently wide to contain two bodies; they were in general covered with blue and scarlet cloth, or wrapt in blankets and buffalo robes; we did not approach near enough to examine closely, this frightful Golgotha, or place of human skeletons, but we could see a great number of valuable articles which had been left as offerings to the manes of the deceased. Several crows and magpies were perched upon them; we could not but experience a sensation of horror, when we thought of the attraction which brought these birds to this dismal place. Some of the scaffolds had nearly fallen down, perhaps overturned by the wind, or the effect of decay, and a great num-

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ber of bones were scattered on the ground underneath. This mode of exposing the dead has something peculiarly horrible in it. The wolves of the prairie, the birds of the air, and even the Indian dogs, are attracted to the place, and taught to feed on human flesh.

"This custom prevails amongst all the wandering tribes; but amongst the Arikara, the dead are deposited in a grave as with us, which I think clearly proves their origin to be different from that of their neighbors; for there is nothing, in which men in all ages and countries, have manifested more solicitude, than in the treatment of the remains of their deceased friends."

Le Borgne. Brackenridge's vivid description of the Gros Ventre chief, Le Borgne or the One Eyed, is found below. The two chiefs were present at a celebration had by the whites at the Mandan villages on July 4th. He says:

"The two principal chiefs happened to be with us; the One Eyed, and the Black Shoe. The former is a giant in stature, and if his one eye had been placed in the middle of his forehead, he might have passed for a cyclop. His huge limbs and gigantic frame, his bushy hair shading his coarse visage and savage features, with his one eye flashing fire, constituted him a fearful demon. He sways, with unlimited control, all these villages, and is feared by all the neighboring nations. I remarked that on one or two occasions he treated She-he-ke, with great contempt. Lisa having referred to something said by that chief, 'What,' said this monster, 'What. Does that bag of lies pretend to have any authority here?'. He is sometimes a cruel and abominable tyrant."

Brackenridge then relates how the ruthless old outlaw murdered a young warrior who came to him to reclaim his wife who had been forcibly taken by that chief in her husband's absence, the mother of the slain warrior having lost her mind in grief over the dastardly act.

Brackenridge adds in a note: "She-he-ke is a fat man, extremely talkative, and no great warrior."

In his "Views of Louisiana," Brackenridge thus summarizes as to the tribes at the Mandan villages:

"Mandans, or Gros Ventres—The remnants of a number of villages, according to their account, seventeen. They claim only

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•361 the small portion of country which they actually occupy; in this, resembling the Arikaras. They still consist of seven villages, five of Gros Ventres, and two of Mandans, in the distance of about fifteen miles. They are generally on good terms with each other, but at present there exist considerable dissensions and even open [191] rupture. There is not the least affinity in their languages but the Gros Ventres is spoken by all the Mandans. According to the tradition of these last, who were originally of the Crow nation, owing to a quarrel between two chiefs, over the carcass of a buffalo which they had slain, a separation took place of the followers of each."

His estimate of the space comprised in the general group of those villages, as above, is too large, as it was probably not more that about nine miles between their extremes. He was also probably in error in regarding the Gros Ventres as originally Crows—it would perhaps be nearer historical fact to say that part of them had, about the time of their arrival from eastward, joined the Crows. This point is not entirely clear, however.

000 **Catlin's Account of Mandans.** George Catlin, whose observations upon the Aricaras were brought out in Part I of this paper (S. D. Hist. Coll., Vol. 3, pp. 490-3), now comes in for consideration in order of time, in his more detailed treatment of the Mandans in many phases of their character. The space herein allotted to his very interesting description and deductions relative to that tribe, is believed to be justified, in view of the generally admitted fact that of all the visitors among and students of this most interesting tribe of Indians, none have written of them in strains so attractive as did he; while we believe that his exhaustive descriptions of their customs and their traditions concerning their religious ceremonies, including also their Flood legends, constituting undoubted classics, are instructive in a high degree, so much so that there seems to be but one way of presenting his impressions and conclusions in order to do him and the subject in hand justice, viz., by quoting his own language at every step, with but few deviations from that course. No attempt to summarize his views could result otherwise than in a garbling process which must be nothing short of unfair and sadly ineffectual in bringing before the reader or student what Catlin saw and

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The Mandans and Ariccaras come in for some separate treatment, but most of what is extracted herein is said by him as pertaining to the "Three Tribes" at Fort Berthold, above mentioned. Those extracts now follow:

Location of Confederated Village of Mandans, Etc. "An arid prairie- terrace, some four miles wide, stretching southward to the Missouri from the base of bluffs which form the edge of a higher plain, becomes gradually narrower as it approaches the river, and terminates in a steep bluff of soft rock and lignite which overhangs the river. On the southern extremity of this terrace, near the brow of the bluff, stand the Indian village, and what remains, since a recent fire, of the old trading post of Fort Berthold. This is on the left bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47 degrees, 34 minutes north, and longitude 101 degrees, 48 minutes west nearly. About five years ago, a large reservation was declared for them in Dakota and Montana, along the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. Fort Berthold is in the northeast corner of this reservation."

See, for further description of this site and surroundings, Part I of this paper, Vol. 3, S. D. Hist. Coll., pp. 574-7.

Matthews' reference to the lodge-groupings in that village is as follows:

Dwellings. "The village consists of a number of houses built very closely together, without any attempt at regularity of position. The doors face in every possible direction; and there is great uniformity in the appearance of the lodges; so it is a very difficult matter to find one's way among them."

And of the type of lodges as originally constructed, he gives the following description, with some features not noted by the earlier visitors:

Old-Style Lodges of Mandans, Etc. "Most of the houses of the village were in 1865 peculiar, large, earth-covered lodges, such as were built by various tribes of Indians of the plains, in the valley of the Missouri, and so often, with varying accuracy, described by travelers. Each one of these lodges consists of a wooden frame, covered with willows, hay, and earth. A hole in the top, which lets in the light and lets out the smoke, and a doorway on one side, are the only apertures in the building. The door is made of rawhide stretched on a frame, or of puncheons.

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342 is then covered with willows, hay and earth, as before mentioned; the covering being of equal depth over all parts of the frame.

"Earlier writers speak of the supporting-posts of the lodge as being forked. Nowadays, they seldom take the trouble to obtain forked sticks for this purpose."

Catlin's Incorrect Representations. "From the above description, it will be seen that the outline of a vertical section, or of the elevation of such a lodge, is necessarily an irregular hexagon, while that of its ground plan is polygonal, the angles being equal in number to the shorter uprights. Prince Maximilian's artist usually sketches the lodge very correctly; but Mr. Catlin invariably gives an incorrect representation of its exterior. Wherever he dipicts a Mandan, Aricaree, or Minnetaree lodge, he makes it appear as an almost exact hemisphere, and always omits the entry. It would seem that, in filling in his sketches, he adopted the hemisphere as a convenient symbol for a lodge. The authors referred to by name in the foot-note on another page speak of the entry passage."

The winter quarters of the Mandans and their confederates are thus described by Matthews:

342 **Winter Log-Houses.** "Every winter, until 1866, the Indians
● 361 left their permanent village, and, moving some distance up the
221 Missouri valley, built temporary quarters, usually in the center of heavy forests and in the neighborhood of buffalo. The chief objects of this movement were that they might have fuel convenient, and not exhaust the supply of wood in the neighborhood of the permanent village. It was also advisable that, during a portion of the year at least, they should not harass the game near home. The houses of the winter village resembled much the log-cabins of our own western pioneers. They were neatly built, very warm, had regular fire-places and chimneys built of sticks and mud, and square holes in the roofs for the admission of light. Ten years ago, there were some cabins of this description in the permanent village at Fort Berthold; every year since they are becoming gradually more numerous and threaten to gradually supplant the original earth-covered lodges. By reference to the note on page 4, it will be seen that, in 1872, the former outnumbered the latter by about nineteen."

000 Of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat-

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of the caches or circular pits of the confederated village Mat- 251
thews speaks below. The writer found some of the remains of those caches on said site in 1905:

Caches, or Pits. "The numerous caches, or pits, for storing grain, are noteworthy objects in the village. In summer, when they are not in use, they are often left open, or are carelessly covered, and may entrap the unwary stroller. When these Indians have harvested their crops, and before they start on their winter's hunt, they dig their caches, or clear out those dug in previous years. A cache is a cellar, usually round, with a small opening above, barely large enough to allow a person to descend; when finished, it looks like an ordinary round cistern. Reserving a small portion of corn, dried squash, etc., for winter use, they deposit the remainder in these subterranean store houses, along with household utensils and other articles of value which they wish to leave behind. They then fill up the orifices with earth, which they trample down and rake over, thus obliterating every trace of excavation.

"Some caches are made under the floors of the houses, others outside, in various parts of the village grounds; in each case, the distance and direction from some door, post, bedstead, fire-place, or other object is noted, so that the stores may be found on the return of the owners in the spring. Should an enemy enter the village while it is temporarily deserted, the goods are safe from fire and theft. This method of secreting property has long been used among many tribes, has been adopted by whites living on the plains, and is referred to in the works of many travelers."

It is seen from the following account of the "medicine-lodge" 346
of the Mandans, as observed by Matthews, that he ascribes to it 361
a religious character, as did Catlin and others:

Mandan and Arricara "Medicine-Lodges." "There are, in the village, two open spaces, which, although of irregular shape, may be called squares; one of these is in the Mandan, the other in the Aricaree quarter. Besides each square stands a large round 'medicine-lodge,' or temple, built as described in the second paragraph of section three, which is used for purposes that, in a general way, are called religious."

The Ark—Ceremony of Okeepa. "In the center of the Mandan 778
square is a small circular palisade, about six feet high and four feet in diameter, made of neatly hewn puncheons set closely to-

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dans; for their religious ceremonies connected with planting are the more numerous, and they honor the corn with a species of worship. In every Aricaree lodge, there is a large ear of corn, which has lasted for generations, sticking out of the mouth of a medicine-bag. At their feasts, they make offerings to the corn by rubbing a piece of meat on it, while they pray to it for plentiful harvests, and address it by the name of 'mother.' The Hidatsas claim to have had no knowledge of corn until they first ate it from the trenchers of the Mandans; and they have no important ceremonies connected with the harvesting, yet they cultivated it long before the advent of the white man." (p. 12.)

"Three Tribes" at Berthold—From South Dakota. "When Lewis and Clarke ascended the Missouri, in 1804, they found four tribes of agricultural Indians, numerous and prosperous, inhabiting the upper Missouri valley, west of the Dakota nation. They had eight permanently inhabited towns, others which they lived in only temporarily, and a number more which they had abandoned and allowed to go to ruin. They are spoken of in Lewis and Clarke's journal as the 'Ricaras,' 'Mandans,' 'Minnetarees,' and 'Ahnahaways.' All that are left of the four tribes are now gathered together in this one village, at Fort Berthold, which does not probably number 2,500 souls. The remains, now nearly obliterated, of their old towns, may be traced on nearly every prairie terrace adjacent to the Missouri, along six hundred miles of its course, from the mouth of the Lower White-Earth to the mouth of the Little Missouri. The Indians at Fort Berthold are, however, now generally referred to as the 'three tribes'; for one of the nations spoken of by Captain Lewis—that which he calls Ahnahaways—is no longer an organized tribe, but has been merged into the Minnetarees." (p. 12.)

"Mandan"—Previous History. "The Mandans, about a hundred years ago, lived in several villages near the mouth of Heart river. From this neighborhood, they moved up the Missouri, stopping and building villages at different localities. In 1804, they were found dwelling in two towns about four miles below the mouth of Knife river. One of these towns was named Metutahanke, Metutahankish, or, as Maximilian writes it, 'Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kusch,' meaning lower village. The other was called Ruptari or Nuptadi. They were almost exterminated by the

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for two small villages to combine in one at the new location. Owing to the immense difficulty of cutting timbers with their crude stone axes, in making these changes of residence they undoubtedly carried with them the timbers of the abandoned huts and used them in rebuilding, wherever possible. The Indians left Knife river because of the scarcity of timber and the attacks of the Sioux. When the trading post of Fort Berthold—so called in honor of Bartholomew Berthold, a fur trader of St. Louis—was established, about 1844 or 1845, the Indians 'drew the logs (of which it was built) with lariats of rawhide over their shoulders.'" (p. 223.)

Lodge Ruins. "The dirt mounds, ruins of their former homes, have often been mistaken for the ancient burial grounds of these tribes, which is not surprising unless one has studied the history of this interesting people. About ten miles above Bismarck one of the best of these collections of mounds is found, on a bluff overlooking one of the most beautiful stretches of the Missouri, just below Square Butte. There are eighteen or twenty of the mounds, most of them well-defined, and generally more or less circular in their form. They form a semi-circle arc, with the river as a chord, and are now more or less merged together into an irregular ridge. These mounds have been dug over and over, yet I was able to find among them many shards and arrow-points and knives when I visted them." (pp. 5-6.)

Lower Village. "The Mandans call themselves Metutahanke, **the Lower Village**, as Dr. Matthews gives it, or Miti-Untanhanke, **the Village on the East**, as it was given to, and partially written for me by Mrs. Baker, both referring to the same village, the one called Ma-too-ton-ha by Lewis and Clarke. Maximilian calls this village Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, and these different readings of the same word well indicate the difficulties experienced in obtaining correct Indian vocabularies."

Farmers. "These people have always been farmers, and both men and women have for years, now, shared the labors of the field. In early days they raised corn, tobacco, squashes, beans, the wild sunflower, etc., and now they grow, in addition, potatoes, turnips, and various vegetables. The Aricaree seem to be the best farmers. Each tribe now raises cattle and horses, but they do not seem to grasp the idea that cattle raising, if attended to

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231 properly, will enrich them, a scrub lean steer being as valuable in their eyes as a fat, blooded one. These Indians are virtually self-supporting, as they receive very little from the government." (Wheeler, p. 224.)

•361 Wheeler here notes the reason why the upper of the two Mandan villages proper near Knife river, which stood on the northeast bank of the Missouri in 1804, was found on the southwest bank in 1833:

Apparently Crossed River. "The five villages mentioned by Lewis and Clarke in 1804, were still in existence in 1833, when Maximilian visited these Indians. One important change had, he states, occurred. The Missouri river had characteristically changed its channel and in Maximilian's day flowed on the eastern side of Rooptahee, or Ruhptare, the second Mandan town of our narrative, so that both the Mandan villages were then on the western south bank."

773 **Mandans and Hidatsas.** "The tradition relating to the origin of the Mandans given by Lewis and Clarke, according to Dr. Matthews, relates, not only to the Mandans, but to the Hidatsa as well. This tradition, I find, is current at the present day and the lake from which the tribe emerged is said to be Minnewakan, or Devil's Lake in North Dakota, the Hidatsa name for this lake—Midihopa—meaning sacred or mysterious water. Dr. Matthews thinks that 'one nation borrowed its legend from the other,' so that both have a common source." (Wheeler, p. 228.)

771 **Polytheism.** "These people had a belief in a 'Great Spirit,' or
797 'Old Man Immortal,' or 'Great Mystery,' and Dr. Matthews discusses it quite fully in his paper. Their ancient belief appears to have been, on the whole, a species of Polytheism. Religious missionary work on the Fort Berthold reservation began in 1876, and since then there has been a marked change in their religious ideas. The leaven acted but slowly at first, but when its results were apparent it seemed to work with cumulative effect. 'Only a small minority of the people now hold to the wreck of their old paganism.' Carlisle, Santee, and other schools have had their influence in producing this uplift. The younger generations see things with a new and broader vision and their moral and religious notions are cast in a new mold." (Wheeler, p. 229.)

797 Wheeler quotes as follows from Rev. C. L. Hall, the Congrega-

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kota. It is for us to find traces of the Mandans in South Dakota and farther southeast."

To further inquiries by the writer concerning the precise locations of various deserted Mandan and Aricaree villages explored by him, Mr. Steinbreuck responded with the following valuable details:

Mandan and Aricaree Village Sites. "I will answer your questions to the best of my knowledge. The seven villages are strung along the Missouri from about two miles below Apple creek on the east side to about three miles above Burnt creek on the same side. There are remains of Mandan villages on (SW 4, Sec. 14 T. 137 R. 80 NW 4, Sec. 2, T. 139, R. 81, NE 4, Sec. 21, T. 140, R. 81), on the east side, and on (Sec. 13, T. 138, R. 81, Sec. 35, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 27, T. 139, R. 81, Sec. 33, T. 140, R. 81), on the west side.

"All those villages were found abandoned by Lewis and Clarke. Lewis and Clarke found the Mandans at the bend of the Missouri near Fort Clarke (built later during 1831-33, started by James Kipp and finished by Mitchell) a little above that fort in two villages (1804). Catlin found the Mandans there also. The Mandans and the Aricarees lived together. The smallpox epidemic was in 1837, after which the Indians moved to the Fort Berthold reservation, where the Hidatsa had gone several years prior. That is all I can tell you about the Mandans. The story goes that the Mandans and Aricarees lived together near Heart river before Lewis and Clarke's time, about twenty years before Lewis and Clarke. That is, some lived in separate villages, some lived with the Mandans. They had a quarrel and separated. Some went up the Missouri with the Mandans, to Fort Clarke, others moved down the river again to that region below the Cannon-Ball. Later, between 1804 and 1834 the balance of the Aricarees below the Cannon-Ball, became too weak, by wars and disease, to withstand the attacks of the Sioux, moved gradually up the Missouri to join their former allies, the Mandans and their own countrymen with the Mandans. This point was near Fort Clarke. There are many Aricaree villages along the Missouri, more in number, than all the Mandan village sites together. All show short time of occupation. This information is obtained by my own investigation and compared with the reports of early travelers, and especially by the study of specimens found at the differ-

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ent villages, and it is no illusion to call one village a Mandan, and the other an Aricaree village of old.

"Such particulars have slipped the observation of early travelers, as they were looking more for the very goods, the Indians and for their places of habitation, and have overlooked abandoned places. Lewis and Clarke also do not mention any such abandoned village as there is the site on Sec. 30 and 31, 143, 81.

" As far as I have got in the location of villages, camps and cemeteries I have forty-five in number marked on the map, a few more to be added."

•(A map which he is preparing for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, see L.)

Under date of March 19th, 1907, Mr. Steinbreuck further states:

"I do not believe the Aricarees moved down the Missouri very far, since their quarrel with the Mandans. They put one river between them and the Mandans, the Cannon-Ball. Lewis and Clarke found them above Grand river. Some of the Aricarees stayed with their allies, the Mandans, and moved up stream with them from their villages near the Heart. The larger part moved up later between 1804 and 1833. I have found now forty-three villages from five miles below. Standing Rock agency, up to above Knife river, including three Hidatsa villages. Some of the villages are later than 1804, and are determinedly of Aricaree origin. Further no mention is made of those later villages by Lewis and Clarke."

Writer's Visit to Fort Berthold and Mandans. "On September 5th-7th, 1905, he who presents this paper went to Old Fort Berthold and beyond, to Elbowoods, N. D., for the purpose of gaining, if possible, some further impressions of the Mandans and of interviewing some of the leading men of the tribe on the reservation within whose limits they were living. An account of that trip, as regards the Aricarees—who were also the objective of the visit—is found in Vol. III, of the South Dakota History Collections, pages 572-583.

"Rev. C. L. Hall, who had been for about thirty years and still is Missionary of the Congregational Missionary Society among the Indians at that reservation, very kindly entertained and materially assisted the writer while there. That point, some twenty

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

UNLIKE most tribes of the Northern Plains, the Mandan have moved little since first mentioned in the accounts of travelers, and their basic culture has changed little except for minor adjustments in their economy resulting from the introduction of the horse and European trade goods. The prominent part played by agriculture and the size and concentration of their villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River in early historic times, the semisedentary nature of their population, and their comparatively richer material wealth distinguished them from the nomadic buffalo hunters when European explorers first reached the Northern Plains. During late prehistoric times the Mandan were in intimate contacts with the Awatixa and Awaxawi bands of semisedentary Hidatsa, whose villages were situated below the Knife River at this time. So far as the writer was able to determine, the Mandan have always remained on friendly terms with the various Hidatsa and Crow groups.

Their first contacts were with the French coming overland from the Lake Winnipeg region to trade shortly after A.D. 1700, for La Harpe in A.D. 1719 gave the location of the Arikara on the Missouri as one hundred and twenty leagues southeast from "seven famous villages," which would, from the location of the Arikara in the La Harpe map, place the Mandan near the mouth of the Heart River.[1] We cannot be certain that the "seven famous villages" referred to by La Harpe do not include both the Mandan and at least part of the Hidatsa villages, since the Hidatsa are not mentioned in the literature until 1797, when they were identified by David Thompson as a separate linguistic group.[2] La Verendrye, who visited the earth-lodge vil-

1. Bernard de la Harpe, "Relation du voyage de Bernard de la Harpe," in Pierre Margry (ed.), *Découvertes et établissements des Française dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale, 1614–1754*, Sixième partie (Paris, 1886), pp. 292–93.

2. *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1916), pp. 209–42.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lages on the Upper Missouri River in 1738, was the first known explorer to leave a written account of his observations.[3] In company with a large party of Assiniboine, he followed an old Indian trail that had been in long use by the Assiniboine when visiting the agricultural villages to barter for corn and other agricultural products. He set out from the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers on September 26, 1738, to visit a people known as the Montannes, who lived on a river believed to flow into the Pacific Ocean. Contacts with the earth-lodge groups must have been numerous, since the "Montannes" spoke Assiniboine well. Concerning the village where he headquartered, he wrote:

> I gave orders to count the cabins, and we found that there were one hundred and thirty. All the streets, squares and cabins are uniform in appearance; often our Frenchmen would lose their way in going about. They kept the streets and open places very clean, the ramparts are smooth and wide; the palisade is supported on cross pieces morticed into posts fifteen feet apart with a lining. For this purpose they use green hides fastened only at the top in places where they are needed. As to the bastians, there are four of them at each curtain well flanked. The fort is built on an elevation in mid-prairie with a ditch fifteen feet deep and from fifteen to eighteen wide.[4]

He believed that these fortified villages were impregnable to attack. The younger La Verendrye went to another fort situated on the bank of the river and declared that it was twice as large. La Verendrye was told that there were six large villages on both banks of the river and that a day's march from the last of these were the Pananas, who had several forts, and then the Pananis. This would indicate that part of the Arikara had already moved northward to the neighborhood of the Grand River, a region which at that time had not been entered by the French traders.

M. Bellen's map of 1755 was the first to show the location of the Mandan villages.[5] This map shows the "Riv. des Mantons" flowing southeastward but fails to connect it with any of the streams in that direction. He wrote: "On ne connoit pas les sources du Missouri," and, of the "Riv. des Mantons," he added: "on ne scait si cette Riviere n'est pas la source du

3. *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultin de Varennes de La Verendrye and His Sons*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1927), pp. 290–360.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 339–40.

5. N. H. Winchell, *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press, 1911), p. 47.

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Chapter I

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

182 THE Mandan social organization was complex and highly integrated. There is an abundance of archeological evidence that at a very early time the population was more widely dispersed along the Missouri River. La Verendrye, the first known visitor to this tribe, reported that they were residing in six villages which were fortified with closely grouped lodges. Considering the depth of refuse of the protohistoric village sites of the Heart River region, all which have closely grouped lodges within a fortification, it is evident that the Mandan village groups had lived in intimate contacts with each other for two or more centuries.

621 361 Each village was an economic unit. It acted as a unit when leaving on the summer buffalo hunt, although there was a certain amount of co-operation among villages in the matter of protecting the old people left behind and in keeping enemy raiding parties from burning the lodges during their absence. Each village had its garden section which was separate from other village garden areas, although my informants claimed that at one time just preceding the first smallpox epidemic, when the Boley, Scattered, Motsiff, and Slant villages of the west side and Round Lodges and Yellow Earth villages of the east side were occupied, all the available corn grounds were planted and that it was necessary for the villages to meet in council to define the garden limits of each village. At that time the most distant villages of the Heart River region were only a few miles from each other, and some families had gardens on opposite sides of the river. A village was frequently abandoned by a part of the people whenever wood was depleted or the corn ground was no longer productive, which in large measure accounts for the presence of so many village sites showing short occupation. At the mouth of the Heart River where the wooded bottoms were most extensive, the villages show longest continuous occupation.

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2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Aboriginal Mandan village sites had the following distinctive characteristics.

1. The circular four-post earth lodge was the most common type used for summer residence, although semirectangular lodges did occasionally occur. These lodges were closely grouped within a limited area.

2. A central open space approximately one hundred and fifty feet in diameter was reserved for the dances and ceremonies. A cedar was set into the ground at the center of the open circle and surrounded by an inclosure of wood to represent the culture hero's (NumakmaxEna) body. The inclosure was a symbol of the wall which NumakmaxEna erected to protect the people from the flood. The ceremonial lodge was on the north side of the open area and in line with the other lodges which formed the circumference of the open area. Lodge entrances of this inner circle faced to the center. The ceremonial lodge was distinguished from other lodges by its flat front and greater length than width.

3. Villages were usually either protected by a surrounding wall and ditch or so situated as to employ as defenses such natural features of the terrain as cliffs, ravines, or riverbanks.

4. Villages were, with one or two exceptions, built near the Missouri River or its tributaries and adjacent to the wooded river bottoms which were cleared for gardens.

5. Although scaffolds for the dead were erected near the villages, isolated human bones, cache burials, and secondary bundle burials occur so frequently within the older villages that we are justified in assuming that these practices were characteristic of the older culture and that scaffold disposal was of late adoption.

6. There was a marked uniformity between villages of the same age with respect to material culture.

7. The clustering of a considerable number of village sites of a single archeological focus and the absence of all other foci within the region adjacent to the Heart River indicate Mandan domination of an extensive area along the Upper Missouri.

The Mandan claim to have been divided into bands which, in large part, were broken down while living at the Heart River. These were: (1) Is'topə ("Those Who Tattooed Themselves");

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

(2) Nup'tadi (no meaning); (3) Ma'nana'rE ("Those Who Quarreled"); (4) Awi'-ka-xa' (no meaning); and (5) Nu'itadi ("Our People").

While living in the Heart River region, dialectic differences also existed between bands. Three major dialectic groups existed then, according to Crows Heart and Scattercorn: Nuptadi, Nuitadi, and Awigaxa. The latter group was small and was assimilated into the Nuitadi after the first smallpox epidemic. Linguistic differences between the Nuptadi and Nuitadi were recognized by Maximilian, who prepared a partial list of Mandan words of the two dialects.[1] These differences are still recognized by Mandan informants. The Nuitadi was the largest linguistic group and comprised the Nuitadi proper, the Is'topa, and the Ma'nana'rE. The latter two bands separated from the Nuptadi proper for economic reasons when the village population became too large for the further exploitation of the corn grounds.

In historic times and before coming to Fort Clark, according to Crows Heart, the Istopa and MananarE had separate villages. In addition, there were several villages of Nuitadi. The Istopa were believed to occupy the territory north of the Heart River and had as their nearest neighbors the Awaxawi band of Hidatsa, who moved there from below the Cannonball River. Their principal village was at the Motsiff site. Crows Heart's grandmother was of the Istopa band, and she was born in their village near the present town of Sanger, North Dakota.

The Mandan have been a relatively small tribe since the first smallpox epidemic which reached them before leaving the Heart River villages. Lewis and Clark reported ruins of their villages in that region in 1804, and the natives informed him that in their time nine villages were occupied simultaneously. The east-side villages united into one village and moved northward, while the west-side group united first into two villages and later into one village and moved northward along the west bank of the Missouri and settled at Fort Clark Village.

There is some inconsistency in the Mandan migration myths,

1. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1906), XXIV, 259.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

There was considerable variability in the status of household
621 groups. Those groups possessing important tribal bundles and
554 participating frequently in the ceremonies occupied high status
571 in the village and endeavored to preserve their eminence by selective marriage of their children. The importance of the lodge group was also expressed by offerings placed on poles erected before the lodge. These offerings were distinctive and proclaimed the existing status of the household bundle. One's loyalty remained with the lodge group one was born into, while subsequent marriages united groups of households.

621 A lodge group could leave one village and join another at will.
166 Usually a number of related households moved at one time, but
578 there are numerous references to groups transferring from one village to another. Informants thought that the three Mandan groups or bands were endogamous. When a group left one village, it endeavored to affiliate with its own band in one of the villages. Mandan informants had been told of at least four reasons why a household group would change villages. When a certain cermony had been allowed to die out or become inactive, a household having rights in that ceremony could enhance its social status by moving out of a village in which there were a number having rights in the ceremony, to take up residence in another where there were few having those particular ceremonial rights. Other household groups moved into another village over the recognition of chiefs. When a small group was dissatisfied with the leadership of the village, rather than have trouble, they moved into another village. Scattercorn remembered that there was often dissatisfaction among the women over the selection of a village site. She recalled that one of their villages was so sandy that the caches caved in, and some of the women wanted to move to another site. When the leaders refused, they were invited to affiliate with another village, which they did. The Missouri River frequently changed its course and sometimes cut through the gardens, destroying the garden sites belonging to some households. When no potential corn ground was available near at hand, household groups were obliged to move to a village with an abundance of suitable corn ground in preference to walking great distances to their gardens.

361 The protohistoric Mandan sites of the Heart River region have ruins of one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

fifty lodges, while the later villages of historic times were much smaller, owing to the smaller population. Maximilian reported sixty-five lodges at Mitutanka and thirty-eight at Nuptadi. My informants listed forty-three lodges at Like-a-Fishhook. After 1870, the Mandan began abandoning the circular four-post earth lodge for small rectangular log cabins, two of them housing the population formerly living in a single earth lodge. Frequently a log cabin was built with two rooms, one room being occupied by the older people, who preserved the sacred bundles in their quarters, and the other room being occupied by the younger married family.

THE CLAN AND MOIETY SYSTEM

At the present time there are four Mandan clans, and they are divided into nameless moieties according to their position in the Okipa lodge. The Okipa or ceremonial lodge occupied a position on the north side of the village open circle, with the entrance facing the sacred cedar. According to the traditions of the Okipa, there were formerly thirteen clans which were divided into moieties known as an east-side moiety, comprising these clans: Prairie Chicken; Speckled Eagle; Bear; Red Hill; Crow; Badger; Bunch of Wood; and a west-side moiety consisting of six clans: Waxi'kEna; Tami'sik; Tami'xixiks; and three extinct clans. In the construction of the ceremonial lodge all clans participated. The east-side clans erected their side of the lodge and placed yellow corn in each posthole. The west-side clans erected the west side of the ceremonial lodge and placed small mats of buffalo hair in the central postholes of their side.

According to tradition, the clans were not all established simultaneously. It is said that Lone Man announced while living in the tribe that he belonged to the WaxikEna clan. It was the custom for this clan to sit near the door on the left, or west, side in council and during the ceremonies. The other five clans which were believed to be closest in relationship to the WaxikEna clan occupied the west side of the lodge also. It was believed that those who were of no clan occupied the entire east section of the lodge in no particular order until Clay on the Face, when returning from a successful war expedition, announced an arbitrary division of the young men then sitting in council. It is said that

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter IV

THE OKIPA CEREMONY

THE Okipa[1] ceremony was an elaborate and complicated affair. It was a dramatization of the creation of the earth, its people, plants, and animals, together with the struggles the Mandan endured to attain their present position. The history of the tribe was a part of the secret lore held by the officers of the ceremony. The uninformed could pay to have the creation myths told but could not repeat them. The songs, chants, and rituals were conducted by men who by virtue of inheritance and purchase had acquired that right, but the words were unintelligible to the population at large, being, according to tradition, in an ancient Nuptadi dialect. Only the legitimate officers understood their meaning, and that information was never divulged to another except when purchase was being made into the ceremony. The few phrases recognized, such as "Corn Mother" and "Thunder Father," were insufficient to understand the substance of the rites.

Certain arrangement of lodges within the village was necessary for the performance of the ceremony. Each village had an open circle some one hundred and fifty feet in diameter reserved for this ceremony, and lodges were not permitted in that section. A cedar post, surrounded by a plank wall, occupied the center of this open circle, and lodges were arranged around the circle with their entrances toward the cedar.

The ceremonial lodge was to the north of the cedar and was a part of the row of lodges facing toward the open circle. It was distinguishable from the other lodges by its flat side at the entrance (see Fig. 13), which was to the south. It was so oriented that the entrance faced in the direction Lone Man went when he left the tribe.

Since lodges were not permitted within the open circle, nor were ashes and refuse deposited there, through normal accumu-

1. The word *okipE'* means "to look alike" and refers to the Bull Dancers, who were of the same stature and were painted and dressed alike for the dances.

[Culture hero; impersonated in the Okipa ceremony - Analyst]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lation of refuse in the remainder of the village this open circle took on the character of a sunken area within the village. This open area appears as frequently near the edges of the abandoned village sites as in the approximate centers. These sunken areas within the ruins of ancient sites downstream fron the last Mandan villages distinguish ancient Mandan vilages from those of other tribes. In ruins such as occur at the Larson or Motsiff sites, where there was a considerable accunulation of refuse within the village, the sunken area was very pronounced. At the Deapolis Site, where the interlodge refuse was thin, the open circle appeared as a slight depression with a low mound where the cedar stood.

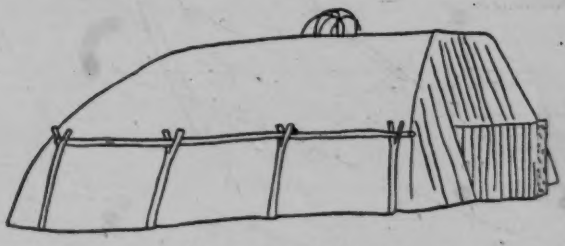

FIG. 13.—Plan of Okipa ceremonial lodge. (Drawn by White (alf.)

The three Hidatsa village groups in general lacked the open circle arrangement of lodges, although the Hidatsa proper in later years marked off a section within the village where dancing was done and where lodges were not permitted. There was neither a cedar, special ceremonial lodge, nor inner circle of lodges facing a common center. The Awatixa and Awaxawi villages lacked all semblance of lodge orientation, having only sufficient space between for corn scaffolds and passageways.

The Arikara plan shows considerable variation asto age. The protohistoric and early historic sites frequently had a special ceremonial lodge in the approximate center of the village, but all villages did not have ceremonial lodges. A limitel area adjacent to the ceremonial lodge was used for the dances, but the neighboring lodges were not arranged in a circle, and there was no orientation of lodge entrances toward the center. More recent historic Arikara villages had definite open circles with orientation of lodges toward the center, where the cerenonial lodge

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

stood. This lodge was circular in outline and differed from the regular earth lodges only by its greater size.

The open-circle concept was definitely established among the Mandan at a very early date according to the archeological evidence from the Heart River region.[2] There is some evidence in the Grand River region of the Mandan-type open-circle village arrangement, but the situation there is in most instances obscured by subsequent Arikara occupations.

Lone Man, according to tradition, established the custom of leaving an open area within each village for dancing. Later, when he was leaving the tribe, he erected a Red-painted cedar, as a symbol of his body and of all the Mandans who had lived before. The cedar was surrounded by a wall of cottonwood planks as a symbol of the wall he erected to protect the people from the flood. A water willow surrounding the planks marked the highest advance of the flood waters. He also established the custom of maintaining a special ceremonial lodge in each village and taught the ceremonies associated with its construction. The lodge was a symbol of Dog Den Butte where Hoita (the speckled eagle) imprisoned all living things. Six central posts were used making it oblong in form, with a flat side facing the open circle.[3] Lone Man also established the WəxikEna and Tamisik clans and indicated their seating arrangement in the ceremonial lodge. He divided the lodge into two halves, the left half or east side belonging to the Prairie Chicken, Speckled Eagle, and five other clans of that moiety. The right side belonged to the WaxikEna, Tamisik, Tamixixiks and three other clans of that moiety.

According to the sacred myths the moiety and clan system was as follows prior to the smallpox epidemics:

West-Side Moiety (Buffalo)	East-Side Moiety (Corn)
Waxi'kEna (Tell Bad News)	Sipuska'numak (Prairie Chicken People)
Tami'sik (no meaning)	Ipoka'numak (Speckled Eagle People)
Tami'xixiks (Bad Strap)	Mato'domak (Bear People)
[Three extinct clans whose names are not now remembered]	MasE'domak (Red Hill People)
	Amaka'domak (Badger People)
	HoxExaka'numak (Crow People)
	Manakasa'numak (People in Grove)

2. By 1500 in sites of the Huff focus in villages of rectangular lodges.

3. This was the habitation lodge which was retained for ceremonial purposes when the circular earth lodge was adopted shortly before 1600.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

a bunch of sage in her lodge and rubbed her body after returning from the fields to cleanse herself from the spirits in the gardens. Years ago, it is said that, when this was done, worms came out of the women's bodies. The Corn bundle-owner walked through the gardens several times during the summer, carrying the pipe and singing the Corn songs.

When the weather was too hot, too cold, or too dry, all those with Corn medicine rights met, and the Goose Women's Society joined them to dance and pray. While the ceremony was in progress, people of each household brought presents and offered them for relief from the adverse weather.

Many women pledged a ceremony to the Corn if good crops were sent by the gods. A person making such a vow, first prepared an elkhide robe and paid the Corn Priest to officiate. When the time appointed for the offering came and after the crop was harvested, she carried the robe to her field, where she tied it to a cottonwood pole and covered the pole with corn on the ear until the pile reached nearly to the robe. The young men of the tribe were invited to come and charge the robe, the first one there taking it. At a signal, the young men searched for the meat under the pile of corn. The Corn bundle-owner received four things for his part in the ceremony. Many different women gave this ceremony each fall when the crops were abundant.

The Corn bundle-owner officiated whenever corn was sold to people of other tribes. It was thought that it must be done or the spirits in the corn might leave the Mandan and help the people who took the corn away. He dressed in his ceremonial outfit and "called back" the Corn Spirits.

Whenever a cache of stored corn was opened, four ears of corn were taken to the Corn bundle-owner as payment for his part in protecting the stored corn.

The order of Corn Priests is as follows:

1. Uses Head for Rattle
2. Brown
3. Pot
4. Bull Leg
5. Acting Foolish (OxinhEdE)
6. Foolish Man
7. Strong Arm
8. Raises Tail
9. Forearm Bone
10. Hunts His Enemy
11. Bull Standing on Land
12. WErukirihEri
13. Enemy
14. Sacred Cedar
15. Cedar Feather
16. Star
17. Head Comes Out
18. Water Bag
19. Coyote
20. Crow
21. WErukirihEri
22. Bloody Knife
23. Garden
24. Tree in Garden
25. Uses His Head for Rattle
26. HoxdEkE
27. Corn Grinder
28. Lying Down
29. Left-Hand Bull
30. Scabby
31. WErukirihEri
32. Crows Belt
33. Moves Slowly
34. Scattercorn
35. Mrs. Little Owl (present owner)

The many references to corn in the mythology express the significance of agriculture to this tribe. Archeological work in their prehistoric sites indicates that economically agriculture has played an important role in shaping the habits of these people. The primary factor in establishing villages at certain

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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points was the accessibility to desirable corn grounds. With the prominent place of agriculture in the economic life of these people, it was a logical consequence that leaders of the Corn ceremonies should determine sites for new villages. Although the actual site was selected by the Corn bundle-owners, the laying-out of the open circle and location of the sacred cedar and ceremonial lodge was the responsibility of the individuals impersonating Lone Man and Hoita in the Okipa ceremony.

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From an analysis of traditions and rites retained after the smallpox epidemics something of the nature of the old corn ceremonies could be determined.

1. There was only one Robe bundle, which came from the Nuptadi Village of the east side of the Missouri.

2. The Skull bundle was of west-side origin and came originally from the Awigaxa band, who were last to reach the Upper Missouri.

3. Old Woman Who Never Dies bundles and secondary bundles belonging to this ceremony were found in all Mandan villages and, in fact, in Hidatsa, Awatixa, and Awaxawi villages. The ceremonies and beliefs with few exceptions were identical between villages and tribes. This seems to be an older, widely diffused Mandan-Hidatsa ceremony to which new practices, particularly the fertility or consecration of the seed rites, were added, based mythologically on a dramatization of corn as people coming from the ground.

773 539

CORN MYTH OF THE ROBE BUNDLE RELATED BY SCATTERCORN[8]

The Corn People were living under the ground by a lake. One day some of the people saw an opening reaching up to the land above, and there was a vine growing in this hole. They asked the Fox to climb up and see this land. He climbed up, but, when he stuck his nose out, he got only a brief look at the beautiful land above because Sun burned his nose.

Then they asked Elk to go up and dig the hole larger with his horns. He made the hole large so the people could get through. The people started up, following the vine. They came up continuously for four days, but on the last day a woman heavy with child broke the vine and ended the migration forever. All these people had been raising the corn on this land beneath the earth.

8. For another version of the same myth, apparently also related by Scattercorn, see Will and Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 218–23. Also see Frances Densmore, *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 80 [1923]), pp. 35–48, for data on Good Furred Robe, including data on Corn Priest, Goose Women Society, and Black Mouth Society.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 Eagle-trapping expeditions were organized for a dual purpose,
224 namely, the securing of feathers and of a winter's supply of meat and hides. Crows Heart thought that, taken year after year, the meat and hides secured had greater worth than the feathers. As he explained, it was not unusual to return without feathers, but game was always abundant once one reached territory not ordinarily hunted in. He remarked, on many occasions, that a village as a unit would never go to rough country on a summer hunt, as there would be few buffaloes there, and it would be difficult to surround them because of the uneven topography. There was the further danger of ambush. The rough lands were hunted over by small bands, chiefly eagle-trappers and war parties.

223 The appearance of ice on the edges of streams was the signal
224 for the eagle-trapping expedition to return to the village. Before
505 horses became numerous in the villages, it was customary to travel overland to the trapping sites, where bullboats were made of buffalo and elk hides for floating back the meat and hides to the village. In order not to be caught along the way by a sudden freezing of the river, it was imperative that trapping cease immediately with the first appearance of cold weather.

224 While in the trapping camp, the women received the meat
257 and hides brought in by the men. The meat was cured on scaf-
281 folds, and the hides were dried or made into bullboats. Special effort was made to secure mountain sheep, as the badlands were the habitat of these prized animals, used for men's shirts and women's dresses, since their skins tanned softer than any other hide. Bears Arm, in explaining the importance of the meat and
[581] hides secured on these expeditions, stated that single women tried to marry young men so they could go along to help cure the meat and hides, knowing they might marry one so lucky as to kill a white buffalo.

223 Mandan tradition appears devoid of reference to recent divi-
●361 sion of a village population into small eagle-trapping bands dur-
171 ing the winter. Such is not the case with the Hidatsa, however.
221 In the Earthnaming ceremony of the Hidatsa there is reference
621 in the myth to the division of the village into small bands camped along the Little Missouri River in eagle-trapping lodges during the winter. At least two of the clans, the Maxoxati and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

AwaxEnawita, trace their origin to these small winter camps. Bears Arm explained that, in former times, the women's lodges were the same as the men's and that, on termination of the trapping season, the altar was removed and the bundle closed, after which the lodge was no longer considered sacred. The leader's wife and family came to his lodge, and the other trappers returned to their wives' lodges for the winter. Before the spring thaw, the various bands returned to the summer village to prepare for the planting of gardens. If this fall and winter division of the Hidatsa villages into bands was customary, as mentioned in tradition and mythology, the custom had been superseded by the winter village system by the opening of the historic period on the Upper Missouri River. By this time each summer village, which we have come to call the permanent village, had its corresponding winter village. The summer village was situated on one of the upper, grassy terraces adjacent to the Missouri River, with the winter village situated in heavy timber on the river bottom. The entire population of a summer village would move to its selected site, and there would be a winter chief selected each year.

There is no reference in the mythology to the breaking-up of the Mandan summer village into winter bands, but each village might build a winter camp to avoid the tedious task of bringing wood a considerable distance to the village. After a few years, all available wood near a summer village would be exhausted, except for driftwood in the river. From all available data, there is no evidence that the Mandan selected new chiefs for the winter period.

We may conclude that the Hidatsa practice of naming a winter chief grew out of the custom of breaking up into eagle-trapping bands under a leader in the fall, his authority continuing after the closing of trapping until the return of the party to the summer village. Wolf Chief explained that this could be done formerly, as there were fewer enemies, but that it was inexpedient in later years, as it was necessary to defend the villages the year round. It is possible, however, that the Mandan abandoned this custom somewhat earlier because of greater pressure from enemies.

A brief ritual closed the eagle-trapping period. It was essen-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

778 796 614 428 lodge. The principal officer of the Okipa was the Lone Man, who, traditionally, belonged to the WaxikEna clan. The rights to impersonate Lone Man were inherited through the WaxikEna clan. A buyer was assisted by his brothers and sisters, who became secondary owners in the bundle. Should the buyer die, a brother was entitled to officiate until a new owner was qualified. When the bundle-owner had no brothers, the sisters' husband was authorized to officiate by performing a ceremonial feast to the bundle until a qualified successor in the clan was selected. [604] The bundle and office passed from a man to his sister's son. A man could sell his rights in the office four times, but few sales were made in later years, since there were two separate bundle lineages representing the two villages built near Fort Clark which were adequate to meet ceremonial needs. In fact, one of these lineages died out shortly after 1837 and was never re-established. The Hoita lineage, though theoretically in the WaxikEna clan, was, in historic times, held temporarily by a member of the Tamisik clan.

778 621 Although villages were reported to be largely independent ceremonially, they were not entirely so. The three sacred turtle drums were kept by individual members of the WaxikEna clan at Nuptadi Village, one of the east-side villages of the Heart River group, and were borrowed by the other villages when the Okipa was to be performed. In later years when the tribe moved to Fort Clark, these drums were kept at the Upper Village situated near Deapolis. Each village was believed to possess its own complement of officers. There was, however, a certain amount of collaboration between villages when new officers were receiving training.

778 621 ● 361 [431] [782] The sacred cedar was erected in each village if the village group had a complete complement of Okipa officers. It was the rule that, whenever a ceremony or organized social event was performed in the summer village, out of respect to Lone Man, whose body was represented by this inclosed post, the group should dance once at this sacred shrine. On these occasions, gifts of robes or other clothing were placed over the cedar as an offering to the Lone Man and became the property of the WaxikEna clan. The Mandan considered the entire open-circle area inclosing the sacred cedar sacred also. Even as late as

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

1929, informants unwilling to divulge sacred lore were equally unwilling to divulge the arrangement of lodges around this circle. Their explanation was that the area was sacred because they had suffered there during the Okipa, standing at this point in the village when thongs were inserted in their flesh for dragging buffalo skulls, or because so many ceremonies had been performed there. When ceremonies were performed at the winter camps, it was customary to leave goods at the sacred cedar when returning later to the summer village.

Mandan informants disagree relative to the purpose of performing the Okipa ceremony. All give a number of reasons; they are: to bring buffaloes to the village; to acquaint young people with the history of the tribe; to give the young men an opportunity to fast. White Calf thought that the principal reason for performing the ceremony was to bring all the gods back so that all the holy beings would be working for the Mandan and not their enemies. He remarked that summer was the season when the gods, particularly the big birds, returned. At this point it is interesting to note that, although a restricted number of officers were intrusted with the direction and performance of this ceremony, on the third day, known as "Everything Comes Back Day," characters represented in the ceremony comprised most of the major bundle-owners of the village.

The person pledging the ceremony was known as the Okipa Maker. The ceremony was considered a "sacred feast to tribal bundles," and the benefits accruing to the Okipa Maker were comparable to those received when offering a feast to any other sacred bundles. He received a section of a sand-bar willow for his sacred bundle and was entitled to participate in important tribal discussions. There was no clan restriction as to performance. However, only those who had demonstrated bravery and industry were permitted to give the ceremony.

The principal officers of the Okipa were Lone Man and Hoita impersonators and the singers. They received their rights after undergoing formal training. For new officers, tribal recognition of their authority was given at a ceremonial feast held prior to the performance of the Okipa. Actually, one desiring to participate in the Okipa and being eligible according to the rules of inheritance underwent instruction at an early age,

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

114 After Catlin comes Maximilian, Prince of Wied-Neuwied.[1] During the winter of 1833–4 he passed several months among the Mandans, and has given us a minute and accurate account of the manners and customs of the people in so far as he observed them. In addition he has given one of the best vocabularies of Mandan and almost the only grammatical sketch of that language. This, though incomplete, is of great value. There is nothing romantic and imaginative in Maximilian's style and treatment of the Mandans, and he may be justly recognized as the best of the various authorities.

Besides these more important chroniclers of the Mandans there is a group of minor authorities to whom something is due for an occasional fact. Most of these men have taken their accounts almost wholly from the above first-hand narratives, making in some cases small additions of their own. First in this group is Patrick Gass,[2] a member of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. With the exception of McKenzie and Larocque,[3] two Northwest Company men who tell us scarcely anything, he is the only one of the minor authorities who writes from personal observation. The others are men who have only condensed what has been gathered by reading, such are Schoolcraft,[4] Hayden,[5] and Matthews.[6]

172 The remains which form a basis for the archaeological section
●361 of the present paper are part of a single village site. There are numerous other sites of a similar type scattered from the Grand River in South Dakota, to the north side of the Knife River in North Dakota. These sites are attributed to two different tribes, the Mandans and the Arikara. We may first consider the remains which seem to be of Mandan origin.

The field in which these sites are found is restricted to an area along the Missouri River from a few miles south of Apple

[1] Voyage en l'Amerique du Nord. Paris, 1843.

[2] Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a corps of Discovery under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke. Philadelphia, 1812.

[3] Journals in Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Campagnie du Nord-Ouest, vol. II. Quebec, 1889.

[4] Op. cit., vol. III, pp. 246 et seq.

[5] Contributions to the Ethnography and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley. Trans. Am. Philos. Soc. (N. S.), vol. XII, pp. 435 et seq.

[6] Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians. Washington, 1877.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Creek in Burleigh Co., North Dakota, to a point some fifteen miles south of the Knife River in Mercer Co., North Dakota, and this field is again subdivided into the historical and the more or less traditional sites. Of the former little will be said. They are the remains of villages which Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian, Catlin, and other early travellers visited, and are situated on the Missouri about fifteen miles below the Knife River. There is another small set of remains intermediate between the traditional and the historical, the stopping place between the former and the latter. These intermediate sites are on the south side of the Missouri on the bluffs southwest of Washburn, and are rather closely connected with several Arikara sites.

We are concerned here, however, with the oldest villages which were visited by only two white men who have left accounts, the Sieur de Verendrye, and McKenzie, whose account is mentioned by D. D. Mitchell in a letter to Schoolcraft. The question might be raised as to how it is known that the sites visited by Verendrye and McKenzie were the oldest ones. The statement of McKenzie that on his visit the Mandans lived in nine villages should suffice to establish this. According to all accounts, after the removal from the early sites the Mandans did not have at any time over five villages, and these soon shrank to even fewer. If McKenzie found nine villages in 1773 the Mandans must have been occupying the earlier sites, and certainly if they were there in 1773, they were very probably there in 1738. The further fact that Verendrye describes the Mandans as being in full power and prosperity shows also that they had as yet suffered none of the losses by disease and war which caused their removal to the later villages.

The location of these oldest Mandan sites comes up next for consideration. They were situated on the Missouri River near the Heart River, some above, some below, on both sides of the former, but the number of villages is uncertain. The location near the Heart is affirmed by all. Lewis and Clarke's Journal,[1] March 10, 1805, says, "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) large villages at and above the mouth of the Heart River." Maximilian[2] says, "After the first alliance with the

[1] Thwaites Edition, vol. I, p. 271.

[2] Op. cit., p. 436.

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172 Hidatsa, the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages at and above the Heart River."

175 The number of these ancient villages is a problem which it ● 361 is impossible to settle definitely. Even an exact and thorough canvas of the ground cannot settle this, as changes of the river may have caused the entire disappearance of some sites. Historical and archaeological evidence alike leave one in doubt. Verendrye, who visited but one Mandan village, says, "I was answered that there were five forts on the two banks of the river . . . . . much larger than the one we are in."[1] But further on he makes this additional statement, "We noticed that in the plain were several small forts of forty to fifty huts . . . . . but no one was there. . . . . The forts in the plains were occupied during the summer to work their fields . . . . . there was a large store of reserve grain there."[2] Next in point of time comes Lewis and Clarke's account, from which may be given three extracts. "These villages, nine in number are scattered . . . . . for twenty miles, ... almost all that remains of them is the wall surrounding them and the fallen heaps of earth which covered the houses."[3] Again, "Within the recollection of living witnesses, the Mandans were settled . . . . in nine villages . . . . . about eighty miles below . . . . . seven on the west and two on the east side of the Missouri. The two . . . . . wasting before the smallpox and the Sioux united into one village and moved up the river opposite to the Ricaras. The same causes reduced the seven to five . . . . . they immigrated . . . . . to the Ricara Nation . . . . ." Also,[4] "The Mandans formerly lived in six (nine) villages . . . four (six) on the west side, two (three) on the east. One of those on the east and the largest was entirely cut off by Sioux and smallpox."[5] Here is disagreement of the same authority both in the total number of villages and in the relative distribution on the two sides of the river.

Catlin is the next writer who gives a version of the tradition, and in his North American Indians[6] is the statement that the Mandans formerly lived down river in ten villages. Maximilian,

[1] Brymner: op. cit., p. 19. [2] Ibid., p. 23. [3] Oct. 22, 1804.
[4] Nov. 21, 1804. [5] Mar. 10, 1805. Thwaites Edition, I, p. 271. [6] p. 81.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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who next claims attention, gives at least two different versions of the story. In one place[1] he makes the statement that the Mandans formerly lived in thirteen or more villages, each had a name and they distinguished themselves thus: 1. Pheasant Village, 2. Village of (the people of) the West, 3. Bear Village, 4. Badger Village, 5. Prickly Pear Village, 6. Village of the Sulky Ones, because they separated from part of their nation to come up the Missouri. Here is a notable discrepancy between the stated number of villages and the number of names given. In another place he states[2] that after the first alliance with the Hidatsa the Mandans lived in eight or nine villages: 1. The South Village, 2. The Greatest Village, 3. The Scattered Village, 4. The Littlest Village, 5. The Village of Those Who Turn Back, 6. The Village on the Hill, 7. The Village of Those Who Separate their Legs, 8. The Village of Those Who Tattoo Themselves.

Thus the authorities not only disagree with each other, but even vary their own statements. Verendrye says six and a number of smaller ones; McKenzie, nine; Lewis and Clarke, from six to thirteen, at various times. Through all of these accounts, nine seems to be the favorite number, but it might hardly be safe to fix it at that. Perhaps the discrepancy can best be accounted for by remembering Verendrye's story of the summer villages, and the fact that Maximilian speaks of villages in the woods occupied for a short time during the worst of the winter. Another factor which may have a bearing on the matter is the old tradition mentioned by Maximilian[3] that the Hidatsa lived near the Mandans for a few years after their arrival, and before moving up to the Knife River. Considering these facts together with the prevailing traditional number of nine, it might be concluded that at the time of residence on the Heart River there were nine actual fixed villages, and an uncertain number of smaller and less fixed camps. This can be only regarded as a hypothesis.

Archaeological evidence is also conflicting on this subject. Lewis and Clarke noted a number of the remains in passing, and probably a series of quotations from them will best bring out

[1] Op. cit., p. 370. [2] Ibid., p. 436. [3] Ibid., p. 435.

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172 the points of location which should be emphasized. In Allen's
175 Lewis and Clarke are the following entries:
●361 "Oct. 19. 1804. We camped on the north opposite to the uppermost of a number of round hills. . . . . Near to one of these moles on a point of a hill ninety feet above the plain are the remains of an old village. . . . . "

"Oct. 20. After . . . . . twelve miles we encamped on the south at the upper part of a bluff . . . . . immediately below . . . . . are the remains of a village formerly occupied by the Mandans."

"Oct. 21. At two miles from our encampment . . . . . ruins of a second Mandan village . . . . . on the north at the foot of a hill in a beautiful . . . . . plain . . . . . nearly opposite are remains of a third village on the south . . . . . another . . . . . two miles further on the north. At a distance of seven miles we encamped. . . . . "

"Oct. 22. We passed an old Mandan village on the south . . . . . at four miles another on the same side . . . . . at six we reached an island about one mile in length, at the head of which is a Mandan village on the north in ruins . . . . . at eight miles are remains of another Mandan village on the south."

Here is an actual description and more or less definite location of nine seemingly very noticeable village sites.

Maximilian's[1] notes on the subject come next with the following extracts: " . . . . a chain of hills called the mountains of the old Mandan village, for one of their villages had been where the river cuts the chain. . . . . It was at the foot of a chain of hills on a fine plain not far from the river. . . . . Here began the Mandan territory . . . . . [Later on same day] We cut wood near the mouth of Apple Creek."

"Next day we came in sight of Square Buttes. . . . . After eight hours we came to an old Mandan village on the right in the prairie."

The archaeological information collected by this party increases the uncertainty. No complete archaeological survey was attempted and the location of sites other than those personally visited will not be discussed. The accompanying map

[1] Op. cit., pp. 19 to 23.

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(Map I)[1] marks roughly the sites as judged from the above extracts from Lewis and Clarke, and more accurately the sites which have been actually seen in the course of this investigation. The first site encountered in the above extracts is approximately on the south bank of Apple Creek above some round, clay buttes. This one was not visited. The second site is on the west side of the river at the base of the hill on which the infantry post of Fort Abraham Lincoln was formerly located. This site was examined, and it is accurately marked on the map. Of the next two sites one on the east and one on the west, but little can be said. The first certainly is on the outskirts of the present town of Mandan. The other one possibly has disappeared in the river. At all events, the only corroboration found, after having been over the country, is a small site on the point of a bluff about one mile above the Northern Pacific Railroad bridge over the Missouri. It is not so plain as the others, nevertheless on a cursory investigation and excavation by our party it showed signs of lengthy occupation. The next site mentioned by Lewis and Clarke is stated to be "two miles further on the north and a little off the river." Of this no trace has been found, unless it be that at the Sperry farm. This one is about five miles above the other site; it is on a bluff, bordering what was formerly a creek, and is about two miles from the river. In some respects this fills the requirements, in point of distance, however, it hardly fits with the account.

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Of the locations of the three other villages on the west side of the river Lewis and Clarke's account does not furnish sufficiently accurate details, although a careful examination of the ground might make them clear. Only one more site is mentioned by Lewis and Clarke on the east, and this, it is believed, is the one where the excavations hereinafter described were made. This last site was by their reckoning about thirteen miles above their Fort Abraham Lincoln camp, at the head of an island. The site at which the excavation was carried on is probably fourteen miles north of their camp. It is at the head of a broad place in the river where there is a small island now. Mr. Burgois, who has lived in the neighborhood for a number of years, says that formerly the island was much

[1] [See facing p. 85, cat. 116 — Analyst]

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larger. This is the only widening of the river where an island could form within the distance stated, and lastly the site is in a very conspicuous situation on the top of a hill. The earthworks are larger than is usual around the other sites, and in every respect the place is apt to attract the attention of any one passing up river.

At a distance of some three miles further up on the same side is another village site not quite as large. It is hidden now from the river by cottonwoods which have grown up in front of it; the site lies on the very edge of the first bench in a level plain. The finds there agree with those in the other places and it is very evidently a remnant of the same people. This gives four known sites on the east side.

On every hand thus it is evident that there is great uncertainty. The number of sites is far from certain. The sites cannot be absolutely identified even when historically described — neither locations nor distribution according with descriptions given. The fact that the Mandans have a tradition of the Hidatsa living near them for a while also adds to the confusion. But the tradition as given by Maximilian[1] states also that the Hidatsa were a roving people, and non-agricultural on their arrival. Consequently there would probably be little difficulty in distinguishing their sites. Moreover, the Hidatsa are supposed to have stayed there only four or five years, and then to have proceeded up to the Knife River.

One more phase of the location question remains to be discussed. The last disturbing feature in identifying the sites is the wandering of the Arikara who, as has been said, also left a number of village sites. It is probable, however, that the Heart River area was never occupied by them for any actual settlement. For this belief a number of reasons may be given. The Arikara are a branch of the Skidi Pawnee which split off through some quarrel and started off independently, reaching in the course of time the Missouri River and ascending it by stages. Their villages were stationary and much like the Mandans but none of them seem to have been as permanent as those of the latter. This fact offers one reason for supposing that such

[1] Op. cit., p. 435.

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Heart River sites as were seen were not of Arikara origin, for the deposits in each place show a very long period of occupation. If the Arikara had just separated from the Pawnees at the time of Verendrye's visit, they certainly did not have time to accumulate such deposits before Lewis and Clarke came.

However, a brief consideration of what is known of their movements is still worth something though the evidence is negative. Verendrye[1] gives the following account of the Arikara: —

"At a day's journey from the last of these were the Panana . . . . . then the Panani. These two nations . . . were now at war for four years, had always . . . . been closely united . . . "

This extract seems to place the time of the separation at about 1734. The Arikara were seen in 1804 when Lewis and Clarke visited them, and at that time they lived in three villages at the mouth of the Grand River. On the way up, both on the Cheyenne and Moreau rivers old Arikara villages were noted and placed on the map. Later in 1812 Bradbury in the description of his journey says that they still occupied the Grand River site. However, during the period before Lewis and Clarke's arrival other moves had been made. Lewis and Clarke[2] state that after smallpox destroyed most of the Mandan nation, reducing them to one large and some small villages they moved up into the Arikara country where they lived many years in peace.

Alexander Henry[3] says that the Arikara and Mandans lived together in the same village thirty leagues down; they separated and the Arikara went down, the Mandans up till stopped by the Hidatsa.

Maximilian[4] states that thirty-seven years before, when Charboneau came, the Arikara lived on a point just above the largest Mandan village. After that they moved back down stream and the Mandans plundered their village.

The only point in all the above which seems to connect the Arikara with the Heart River sites is the statement by Henry that the two nations lived together at thirty leagues south. The circumstances of this seem to point to the site opposite Washburn, and it may be safe to consider his estimate of the

[1] Op. cit., 19.
[2] Nov. 12, 1804.
[3] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 334.
[4] Op. cit., p. 358.

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172 175 361 distance as an error in stating the story. The more so since details coincide with accounts of the Washburn site.

Reviewing the whole question of the Arikara's locations, there are:—a site on the Cheyenne River, one on the Moreau River, one on the Grand River, and one some fifty miles above the Heart River, near Washburn. In 1738 they were on or near the Grand, and there again in 1804. Maximilian says that before the smallpox the Mandans feared no one, but that the Arikara and the Cheyennes were their natural enemies. Taking into account the last statement and also the fact that during the period of sixty-six years the Arikara established such a number of villages, and, moreover, that the Mandan alliance with the Arikara is placed in all the traditions as after the fall of the Mandans. it may be safely stated that the Arikara are not responsible for any of the Heart River sites.

In the discussion the location and number of the sites has now been treated and there are points which should be emphasized. The only facts which are certain are that the Mandans formerly had at least six large villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River which were abandoned between 1772 and 1804, and that there are at least six old village sites which can still be located in that region. In addition there are the following which while not definitely proved, may be regarded as highly probable: that the Heart River sites are identical with the Mandan ones; that they cannot be attributed to the Hidatsa with any reason; and lastly that there is no proof for, and much circumstantial evidence against the belief that any of this group of sites is due to the Arikara. Details of culture, historical evidence, and archaeological finds, will reënforce belief in the mutual identity, and from now on all sites of the Heart River area will be considered as of Mandan origin.

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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

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Henry says,[1] the men were tall, stout and well built. Maximilian also testifies along the same line: "Most of the Mandans are vigorous men, strong and large."[2] And adds later that they were a strong race, a little above medium height, possibly not as large as the Minnetarees, robust, with broad shoulders.[3] Judging from the information so far, the Mandans should be considered a large race, but on the other side there is the statement from Catlin[4] that the stature of the Mandans was below the ordinary, but they were well proportioned. All of these observers but Catlin thus speak of the Mandans as above average height.

For a further description of the Mandan physique there are only a few words from Maximilian,[5] who says that they had a less aquiline nose than their neighbors, less prominent cheek bones than the Dakotas; thin noses and straight; long, narrow eyes of a deep brown, a little raised and contracted at the inner corner; large mouth, large angular jaws, various shaped heads, but foreheads no lower on the average than among Europeans.

VILLAGES:—The Mandans, as has been said, were a sedentary tribe and lived in fixed villages for long periods of time. In these villages they built lasting lodges of a type similar to those of the Arikara, Omaha, and other tribes lower down the Missouri, though with small differences in the details of construction. The villages were usually well fortified, neat and orderly in the early days, but a considerable change seems to have come upon the people after their misfortunes, for there was much less care taken in the arrangement and fortification of the villages in their later locations. The first description of the Mandan village is from Verendrye, who makes it appear almost a model town. As this is the only description of the Mandan villages during the prosperity of the nation,[1] a summary of his account is here given:[6]

"Many people came to meet us but nothing in comparison with what appeared on the ramparts and along the trenches. . . . . Their fort can only be gained by steps or posts which can be removed when the enemy threatens. . . . . If all the forts are

[1] Op. cit., p. 341. [2] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 29. [3] Ibid., p. 372.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 88. [5] Op. cit., p. 37. [6] Op. cit., pp. 17-22.

[1] [ie., about 1738. See p. 86.-- Analyst]

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alike, they may be called impregnable to Indians. . . . . Their fortifications are not Indian . . . . . Their fort is full of caves in which are stored such articles as grain, food. . . . . I walked about . . . . . their fort . . . . . there were one hundred and thirty of them [huts]. All the streets, squares and huts resembled each other . . . . . The streets and squares very clean, the ramparts very level and broad; the palisades supported on cross-pieces mortised into posts of fifteen feet. At fifteen points doubled are green skins which are put for sheathing when required, fastened only above and in places where needed. As in the bastions . . . . . at each curtain well flanked . . . . The fort is built on a height in the open prairie with a ditch upward of fifteen feet deep and fifteen to eighteen feet wide . . . . . The Sieur Nolant and my son arrived [from the other village] . . . . . The fort is on the bank of the river, as large again as this. The squares and streets were very fine and clean. Their palisade is in the best order and strength . . . . . built in the same fashion as the one in which we were. . . . . All their forts were alike . . . . . some much larger than others."

There is a little note from Schoolcraft[1] to add, who says that about 1750 the Mandans lived on the Heart River in nine villages surrounded by circular walls of earth, with no ditches. For this information, however, he cites no authority.

For the later Mandan villages there is something of a description from most of their visitors. Lewis and Clarke have very little to say on this subject, but Henry, Maximilian, and Catlin, all give good descriptions. Verendrye mentions squares and streets as though the early villages were arranged in some regular manner, while the very opposite seems to be true in the later visited places.

A composite description drawn from the various sources will perhaps give the best possible picture of the larger village below the Knife River. The whole town, according to Maximilian, had a very small diameter. It was situated in an extensive plain on a bluff about forty or fifty feet high on the south bank of the Missouri. From a distance it looked like a mass of mole hills, with numbers of grass blades growing be-

[1] Op. cit., vol. III, p. 248.

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tween, these were the scalp poles and effigies of the gods. The ground on which the village was located was chosen for defence, the bluff on the river side went down perpendicularly, and the village was on a point jutting out into the river so that only one side needed protection. Across this point was a palisade and inside this was a ditch, three to four feet deep according to Catlin. The palisade, he says, was of timbers eighteen feet high and one or more feet in diameter, set far enough apart to allow of shooting between. The warriors stayed in the ditch in defending the palisade. Concerning this palisade Henry and Maximilian both mention that it was in very poor repair indeed, but Henry adds that he was told it could be put in good condition very soon, every person in the village lending a hand. There is yet no mention of bastions and ramparts such as Verendrye refers to, but Maximilian[1] describes something similar. He says that at the corners of the palisade in four places were arcs or bastions, which formed an angle open toward the village, and said to have been built by the whites. These were intrenchments in the form of an arc, covered with a matting of willow and having loop holes.

On entering the village it seemed to be a mass of circular houses from forty to ninety feet in diameter, set down haphazard closely crowded together. The houses were of earth with a smooth coating of pounded clay on the top, where most of the inhabitants were usually stationed. Before each house was a scaffold, fronting the covered entrance. These scaffolds were six feet high, twenty feet long and ten broad[2] and were used for hanging up corn and meat to dry. They had a good floor, also, which was covered in the fall with drying beans. The staging for drying corn and meat was made as follows:[3] posts were set up on the scaffolds themselves, across these rafters were laid, and upon these cross rafters or poles the corn, meat and sliced squashes were hung. Before almost every house were one or more poles about twenty feet high, to which images of the gods, or sacrifices to them were attached.

In the center of the village was a large open space of about

[1] Op. cit., p. 31. [2] Henry: vol. I, p. 340. [3] Ibid.

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In the center of the village was a large open space of about four acres[1] and in the center of this was the "Ark of the First Man." This was in the shape of a hogshead, of planks and hoops.[2] It was open above, the planks were embedded in the ground, and the hoops were branches tied around to hold these together. The Mandans called this the Big Canoe[3] and in it were some of their greatest medicines. This open space was the seat of all their festivals, dances and ceremonies, and here also they played their games of Chungkee or Skohpe. The space was closely surrounded by houses placed at equal distances apart and all facing the center. The largest of these lodges on the south side of the area was the medicine lodge, and on a pole above this was a figure of skin, with a carved wooden head, which represented the Evil Spirit.

About one quarter of a mile or less to the south of the village was a race-course; a hundred or more scaffolds on which the dead were deposited; slides for their games were also made outside the palisades. The ground about the houses was honeycombed with pits and caches in which most of the food and many of the valuables of the inhabitants were stored. The house roofs formed a general repository where bull boats, buffalo skulls, pottery, sledges and people were scattered promiscuously over the rounded surface, around the edge of which Bradbury says they built a sort of low railing.

HOUSES:—The houses themselves were many times described, sometimes with considerable variation, and it is highly probable that there was more or less variation of construction in the minor details. They were distinguished from those of the Arikara in that the ground was first excavated, and that they were rather hemispherical, whereas the houses of the latter were more conical, like those of the Pawnee. Catlin[4] places the average size of the houses at from forty to sixty feet in diameter, depending on the size and importance of the family, and Henry[5] tells us that the one in which he himself stayed was ninety feet in diameter.

[1] Henry: vol. I, p. 338. "Sixty feet across," Maximilian: p. 386; "One hundred and fifty feet," Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.
[2] Catlin gives this as eight to ten feet high, Maximilian as four or five.
[3] Catlin: vol. I, p. 88.
[4] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 81.
[5] Op. cit., vol. I, p. 338.

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SECTION II.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

X172 As has been stated, the villages of the earliest known period centered about the mouth of Heart River, with Square Butte Creek for the northern and Apple Creek for the southern limit. Several sites in this area were examined, and one site, in almost all respects the best, was somewhat extensively explored.

X172 ●361 133 Of the village sites which were only incidentally studied, the most southern was that on the west bank of the Missouri near old Fort Abraham Lincoln. This village, roughly triangular in shape, occupied a bench bounded on one side by an old wash bank of the river, on another side by a deep narrow coulée, and on the remaining side by a high, steep hill. The mounds are low and indefinite in outline and evidently much disturbed. On the river side there is an extensive talus composed largely of refuse. Here there has also been a considerable landslide. On the side nearest the hill there are traces of a ditch, this side being the only one not protected by nature.

Another site, possessing natural defenses of the highest order, is located about three miles northwest of Bismarck, on the east bank of the river. Here, a promontory with a level, circular summit is almost entirely cut off from the high bench by deep precipitous ravines. The narrow neck, as shown in Map II, $\frac{1}{A}$ was protected by a ditch and wall. The ditch and wall show two ox-bow like protuberances which may be the remains of a well-flanked gate. A ditch is also seen at a point on the river side where the hill-slope is less steep than usual. On the northern side, is a sort of platform along the hillside, about ten feet below the crest. This may be the remains of a ditch and wall, so placed that the higher level of the village would be a vantage point in defense of the palisades. This will be referred to as the Ward site.

$\frac{1}{A}$ [facing p. 198]

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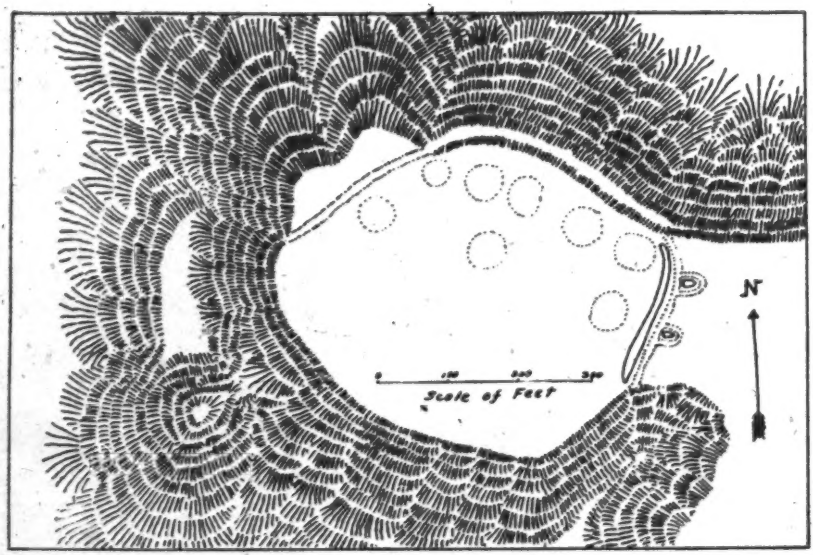
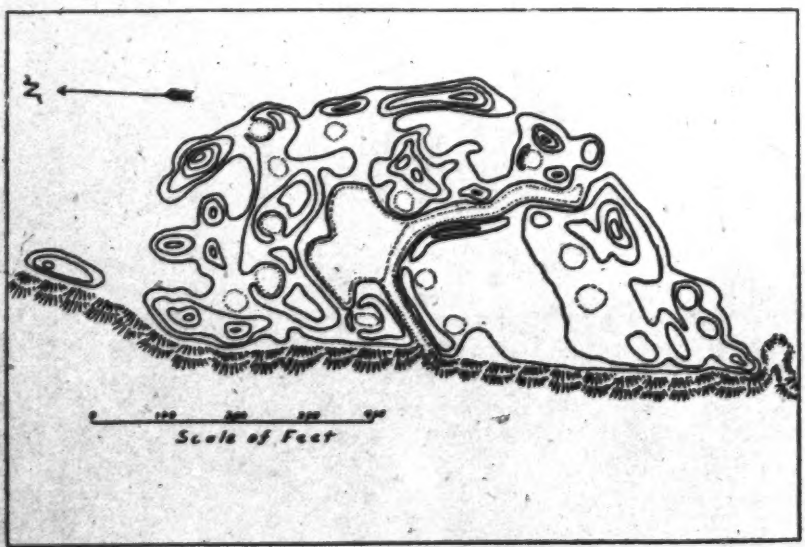


MAP II. THE WARD SITE.
Dotted lines surround sunken areas.



MAP III. LARSON SITE.
Dotted lines surround sunken areas. Contour interval is two feet.

[Facing p. 148]

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A third village location, the Larson site, is almost devoid of any natural defenses. It is situated on the east bank of the river, about seventeen miles above Bismarck. This village was built upon the edge of a wide, level bench which ranges only about thirty feet above the flood plain of the Missouri. As may be seen by Map III, the remains consist of a well-marked ditch which traverses the central portion of the site, a sunken area near one end of the ditch, and a series of mounds, the largest of which are on the margin of the site. Unfortunately, the plow has disturbed the original contours of the mounds. Moreover, there is some evidence that the river may have cut away the bank and destroyed part of the site. The position of the larger mounds on the outer edge is in accordance with the theory that they were fortifications. But the position of the ditch is something of a mystery. Instead of surrounding the site, it seems to cut across it and divide it into two nearly equal parts. Adjoining the ditch, and near the wash bank, is a large sunken area which may have been the town square.

The Burgois site (Plates XXVIII, XXIX), which furnished the principal material for this paper, is about fourteen miles northwest of Bismarck, on the east bank of the river. It is conspicuously placed on the summit of a high bluff which commands a fine view up and down stream. Above the site, the Missouri swings in a wide curve known as Mountaineer Bend, at the upper end of which is situated the Larson site previously described. Below, the river spreads into a maze of islands and sand bars. It seems reasonable that this village may be identified with the one described by Lewis and Clark as being at the head of a large island, the island having since disintegrated.

On the south, about one hundred yards from the outer limits of the village remains, is a deep ravine; to the north and east there is a gentle slope towards the level prairie land. Below the bluff, stretch the bottom lands, partly meadow-land and partly timbered with cotton-wood, ash and diamond willow.

The remains extend for thirteen hundred feet along the edge of the bluff and eight hundred feet back. They comprise, first, mounds from one to ten feet in height; second, continuous ditches; third, circular, slightly sunken house rings; fourth,

1 [facing p. 148.]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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small sunken areas marking old cache pits. Map IV[1] gives a general survey of the village. In this map the natural configuration of the land is represented in hachures, while the artificial mounds and depressions are represented, as well as the simple means at hand would permit, by contour lines with an interval of two feet.

X 172
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The large mounds are on the outside of the village site. They form a more or less continuous chain of earthworks, outside of, and between the two encircling ditches. If Verendrye spoke the truth in regard to the neatness and cleanness of the Mandan villages, these large mounds could not well have been dump heaps as some investigators appear to think. A more natural dump heap is located along the bluff front. It is more reasonable to identify them with the earth ramparts and bastions which, he says, were wide enough to allow the game of Skohpe to be played upon them. Moreover, there is a strategic fitness in many of them in regard to shape and location. Thus Mound *a* guards admirably the approach from the ravine south of the village. Two crescent mounds, *g* and *j*, would be strongholds in defense of the village. Many of the mounds, for instance *a* and *c*, have wall-like protuberances, which may have been extended breastworks.

The mounds, as may be seen by the map, are of various shapes and sizes. Mound *a*, the largest, is nearly a perfect rectangle, except for the irregular line of small mounds attached to one corner. It measures about one hundred and twenty feet in length, and is about eight feet high. Most of the larger mounds are of approximately the same height. Two mounds, *g* and *j*, before mentioned, are distinctly crescent-shaped. The other large mounds are either oval in shape or are irregular with two or more summits.

The smaller mounds are, for the most part, between the two ditches. They are irregular in shape, and range from a few inches in height to three or four feet. A few low mounds are found outside the circle of large mounds.

There are two ditches. The inner ditch, *y*, *y*, *y*, can be traced throughout its course, but the outer ditch, *z*, *z*, *z*, appears broken. The inner ditch encircles an area about five hundred

[1] [Facing p. 151.]

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

X 172 ●361 feet in diameter which is devoid of any large mounds, and is marked by house rings and cache pits. Between the inner and outer ditches there are, in addition to the mounds, a few house rings. The ditches, in their deepest portions, are not more than three feet deep, though they were originally much deeper. A cross-section of the ditch, at the point marked *u*, shows it to have been nine feet deep and twenty feet wide.

The house sites were mostly in the interior of the village. They are marked by rings each with a slight depression in the center. After the prairie grass becomes brown, these depressions are marked by green patches. The house rings vary somewhat in size, averaging about forty feet in diameter. They are close together, but are sometimes arranged in more or less regular rows leaving what may roughly be termed streets.

Small depressions mark the location of old caches. These depressions are scattered over the entire area both inside and outside the ditches. Some have dropped in to a depth of two or three feet, but most of them show only a slight hollow. Frequently they occur in groups of three or four. Investigation disclosed the presence of these cache pits under the mounds and in the house sites.

Before entering upon an account of the work carried on at the Burgois site an attempt will be made to correlate the features of this site with the descriptions of the villages as they were actually seen. Verendrye tells us of the village surrounded by a piquet eighteen feet high and a ditch fifteen feet deep by eighteen feet across. This was protected by bastions and ramparts covering the piquet. We have the ditch, two in this case, as if the village had outgrown its original bounds; and on making a cross section of the ditch it was found to be nearly as large as described. Digging on the inner side of the ditch showed no sign of the piquet. Catlin tells us, however, that the piquet was only outside. The large surrounding mounds agree with the description of bastions and ramparts. The circles mark the sites of the round earth-houses, and the small depressions show where the caches described by every visitor were located. The greatest difficulty was identifying the large village square or ceremonial place. Inside the first ditch, in

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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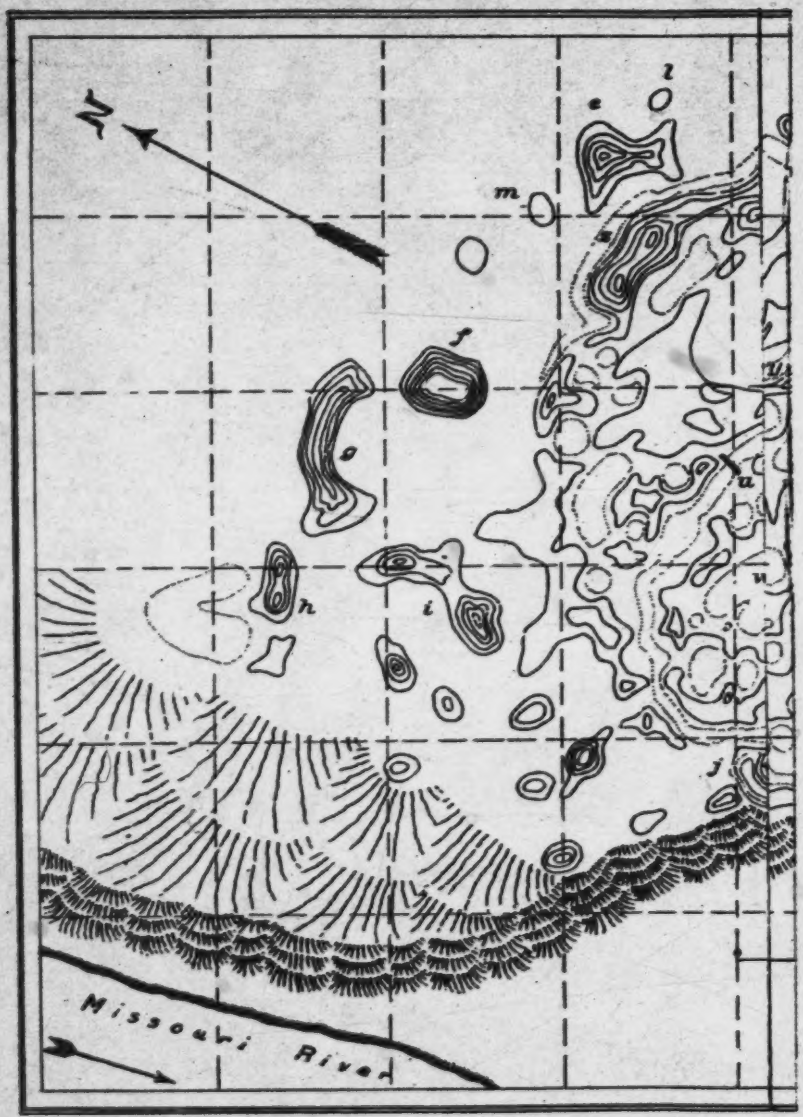

MAP IV. [illegible]
Contour interval is two feet. Dotted lines sunken

[Folded map facing p. 151 (A)]

3; Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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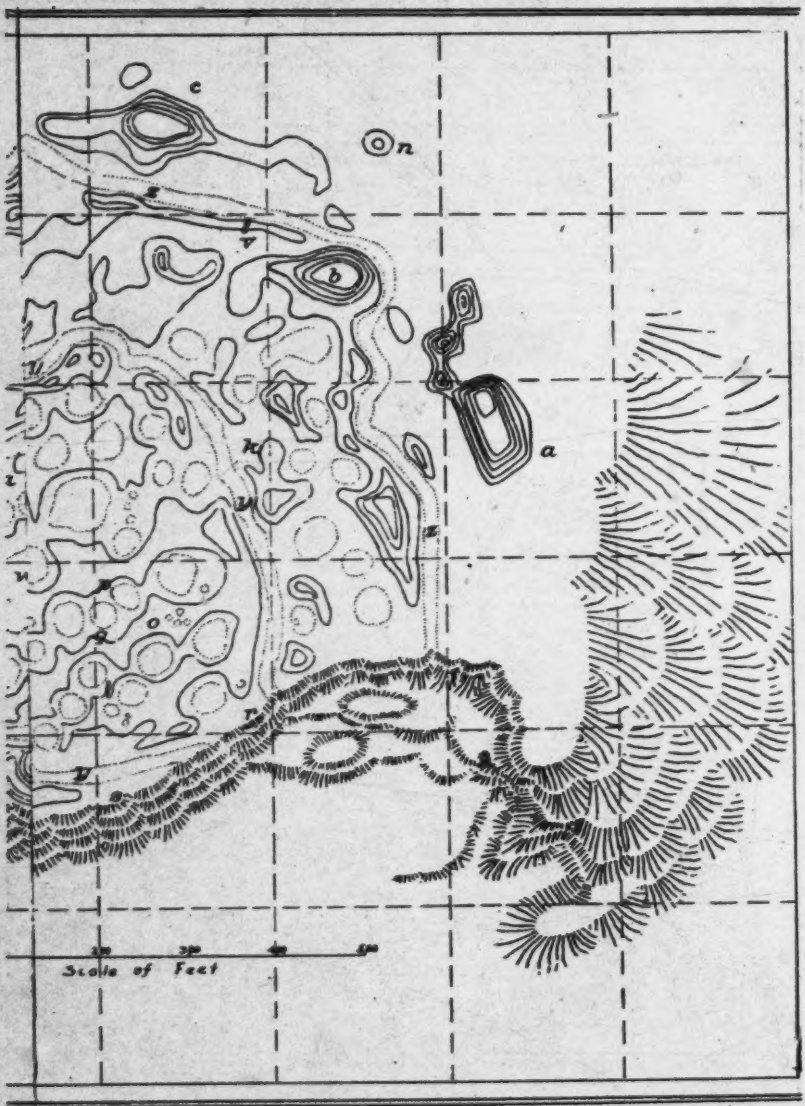

V. ...RGOIS SITE.
sunken areas. Hatchures show natural configuration

[Folded map facing p. 151 (B)]

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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the very center of the village is an area of about the right size, but it is broken by three rings which appear to be house rings, one larger than any of the others. Between the first ditch and the second, however, there is a large open space of the proper dimensions and unmarred by any rings or mounds (*x*). It answers the description except that it is not located in the center of the village. It might be possible that the first place was originally the public square, but as the village grew beyond the first ditch the square was moved to a better site and the old one was built over. Of the cemetery, of course no trace is now discoverable, although one of the bundles of bones was found buried. It is not related how or where bones taken from the scaffold were buried, and so the find can not be connected with what is historically described.

X172

MOUNDS:—The first work (Work 1) was done on the largest of the out-lying mounds (Map IV, Plates XXVIII, XXIX, XXX). This mound is about a hundred and twenty feet long by sixty or seventy wide. It slopes up gently from the west end for about thirty feet, then runs along almost flat until within ten feet of the other end, where it suddenly drops off. It is almost rectangular in shape. The west end of the mound was divided off into squares of five feet, and excavation was then begun along the entire end, and carried into the mound, preserving at all times a vertical face. This mound rested on a solid clay hardpan, from which the sod seemed to have been cleared before building the mound. The excavation was always carried a little below this hardpan level. The mound seemed to be built of refuse spread on in layers. Very little in the way of valuable remains was found on the edge of the mound, small fragments of pottery, a pocket of rocks, a pocket of bone, charcoal and pottery and two or three pockets of large bones, charcoal and pottery chips being the only things noted. These pockets all began about one foot below the surface of the mound. At the beginning of the excavation, from the surface to hardpan the depth was eight to twelve inches; by the time the work had been carried in fifteen feet the face of the excavation was from one and a half to two and a half feet high. At about the six-foot line the first of a

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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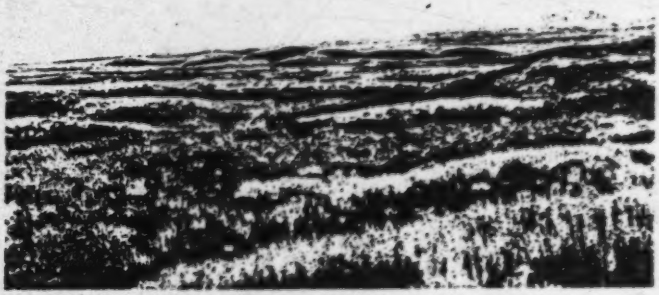
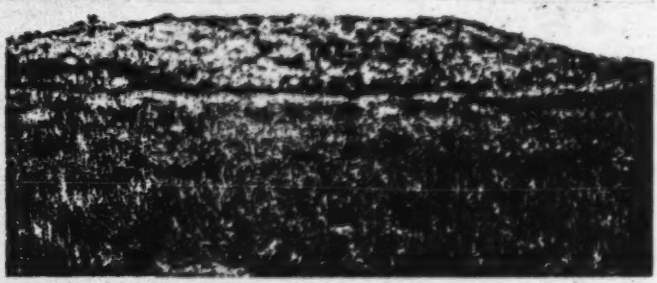
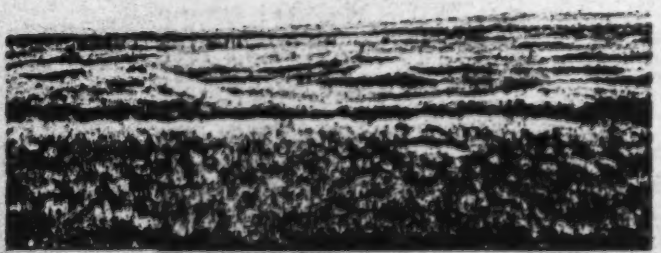


1. GENERAL VIEW OF BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.



2. MOUND A, BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.



3. DITCH AND HOUSE RINGS, BURGOIS VILLAGE SITE.

[facing page 152]

HELIOTYPE CO., BOSTON.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5[illegible] (1[illegible]34) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 171 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 712 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was sufficiently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a

[1] [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ease of decay, were erected for the Indians by the Whites. There is nothing of the kind at Ruhptare. The huts, as I have before remarked, stand close to each other, leaving, in the centre, an open circular space, about sixty paces in diameter, in the centre of which (among the Mandans) the ark of the first man is set up, of which we shall speak in the sequel. It is a small cylinder, open above, made of planks, about four or five feet high, fixed in the ground, and bound with climbing plants, or pliable boughs, to hold them together (see the woodcut, p. 342).

At the north end of this circular space is the medicine lodge, in which festivals are celebrated, and certain customs practised, which are connected with the religious notions of this people, which we shall treat of in the sequel. At the top of a high pole, a figure is here placed, made of skins, with a wooden head, the face painted black, and wearing a fur cap and feathers, which is intended to represent the evil spirit, Ochkib-Hadda (corresponding with the devil), or a wicked man, as they affirm, who once appeared among them, had neither wife nor child, and vanished, and whom they now stand greatly in dread of. Other grotesque figures, made of skins and bundles of twigs, we saw hanging on high poles, most of them being offerings to the deity. Among the huts are many stages of several stories, supported by poles, on which they dry the maize. The huts themselves are of a circular form, slightly vaulted, having a sort of portico entrance. When the inmates are absent the entrance is shut up with twigs and thorns; and if they wish merely to close the door they put up a skin stretched out on a frame, which is shoved aside on entering. In the centre of the roof is a square opening for the smoke to find vent, over which is a circular sort of screen made of twigs, as a protection against the wind and rain, and which, when necessary, is covered with skins (see woodcut).

The interior of the hut is spacious, tolerably light, and cleanly. Four strong pillars towards the middle, with several cross beams, support the roof. The inner circumference of the hut is formed by eleven or fifteen thick posts, four or five feet in height, between which other rather shorter ones are placed close to each other. On these shorter posts, which are all of an equal

1 [This shrine, the sacred cedar, represents the culture hero's body. See Category 116, Source 2: Bower, pp. 24, 116 for more up-to-date summary.--Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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names. I subjoin a few singular specimens: "The bear which is a spirit;" "The bull which is a spirit;" "I hear somebody coming;" "There are seven of them married to old women," &c.

In conclusion I would say that some have affirmed that they have found, in North America, Indians who spoke the Gaelic language; this has been said of the Mandans; but it has long been ascertained that this notion is unfounded, as well as the assertion that the Mandans had a fairer complexion than the other Indians.

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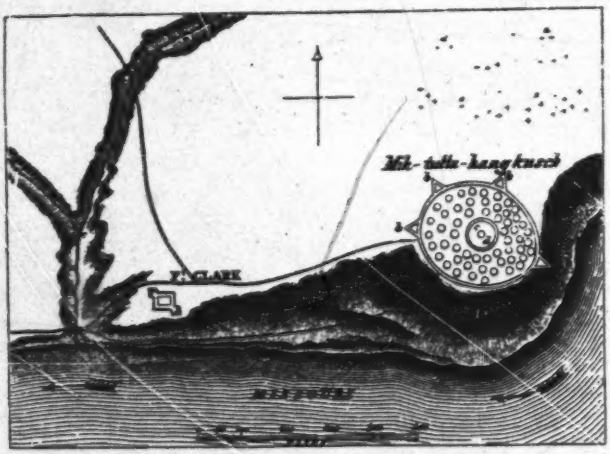

a Scaffolds for the dead, and poles with offerings. Vignette XIV., p. 381. Plate XXV. and p. 389.
b The Mandan village—Mih-tutta-hang-kusch.
c The open space in the centre of the village.
d The ark of the first man, p. 342.
e The streams in which the dishes are washed.

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 11.

MANDAN VILLAGE, *UPPER MISSOURI.*

I SAID that I was here in the midst of a strange people, which is literally true; and I find myself surrounded by subjects and scenes worthy the pens of Irving or Cooper—of the pencils of Raphael or Hogarth; rich in legends and romances, which would require no aid of the imagination for a book or a picture.

The Mandans (or See-pohs-kah-nu-mah-kah-kee, "people of the pheasants," as they call themselves), are perhaps one of the most ancient tribes of Indians in our country. Their origin, like that of all the other tribes is from necessity, involved in mystery and obscurity. Their traditions and peculiarities I shall casually recite in this or future epistles; which when understood, will at once, I think, denominate them a peculiar and distinct race. They take great pride in relating their traditions, with regard to their origin; contending that they were the *first* people created on earth. Their existence in these regions has not been from a very ancient period; and, from what I could learn of their traditions, they have, at a former period, been a very numerous and powerful nation; but by the continual wars which have existed between them and their neighbours, they have been reduced to their present numbers.

This tribe is at present located on the west bank of the Missouri, about 1800 miles above St. Louis, and 200 below the Mouth of Yellow Stone river. They have two villages only, which are about two miles distant from each other; and number in all (as near as I can learn), about 2000 souls. Their present villages are beautifully located, and judiciously also, for defence against the assaults of their enemies. The site of the lower (or principal) town, in particular (PLATE 45), is one of the most beautiful and pleasing that can be seen in the world, and even more beautiful than imagination could ever create. In the very midst of an extensive valley (embraced within a thousand graceful swells and parapets or mounds of interminable green, changing to blue, as they vanish in distance) is built the city, or principal town of the Mandans. On an extensive plain (which is covered with a green turf, as well as the hills and dales, as far as the eye can possibly range, without tree or bush to be seen) are to be seen rising from the ground, and towards the heavens, domes—(not "of gold," but)

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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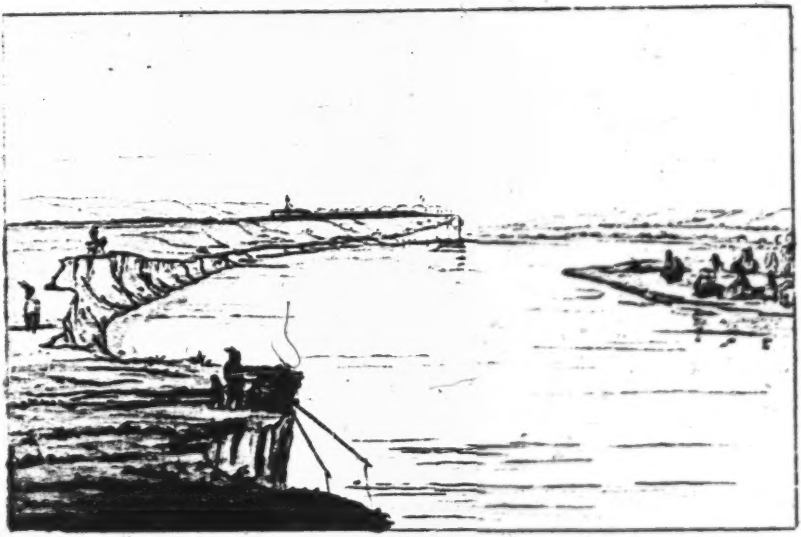

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[facing p. 80]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 of dirt—and the thousand spears (not "spires") and scalp-poles, &c. &c., of the semi-subterraneous village of the hospitable and gentlemanly Mandans.

174 These people formerly (and within the recollection of many of their oldest men) lived fifteen or twenty miles farther down the river, in ten contiguous villages; the marks or ruins of which are yet plainly to be seen. At that period, it is evident, as well from the number of lodges which their villages contained, as from their traditions, that their numbers were much greater than at the present day.

There are other, and very interesting, traditions and historical facts relative to a still prior location and condition of these people, of which I shall speak more fully on a future occasion. From these, when they are promulged, I think there may be a pretty fair deduction drawn, that they formerly occupied the lower part of the Missouri, and even the Ohio and Muskingum, and have gradually made their way up the Missouri to where they now are.

There are many remains on the river below this place (and, in fact, to be seen nearly as low down as St. Louis), which shew clearly the peculiar construction of Mandan lodges, and consequently carry a strong proof of the above position. While descending the river, however, which I shall commence in a few weeks, in a canoe, this will be a subject of interest; and I shall give it close examination.

361 The ground on which the Mandan village is at present built, was admi-
712 rably selected for defence; being on a bank forty or fifty feet above the bed of the river. The greater part of this bank is nearly perpendicular, and of solid rock. The river, suddenly changing its course to a right-angle, protects two sides of the village, which is built upon this promontory or angle; they have therefore but one side to protect, which is effectually done by a strong piquet, and a ditch inside of it, of three or four feet in depth. The piquet is composed of timbers of a foot or more in diameter, and eighteen feet high, set firmly in the ground at sufficient distances from each other to admit of guns and other missiles to be fired between them. The ditch (unlike that of civilized modes of fortification) is inside of the piquet, in which their warriors screen their bodies from the view and weapons of their enemies, whilst they are reloading and discharging their weapons through the piquets.

361 The Mandans are undoubtedly secure in their villages, from the attacks of
342 any Indian nation, and have nothing to fear, except when they meet their enemy on the prairie. Their village has a most novel appearance to the eye of a stranger; their lodges are closely grouped together, leaving but just room enough for walking and riding between them; and appear from without, to be built entirely of dirt; but one is surprised when he enters them, to see the neatness, comfort, and spacious dimensions of these earth-covered dwellings. They all have a circular form, and are from forty to sixty feet in diameter. Their foundations are prepared by digging some two feet in the ground, and forming the floor of earth, by levelling the requisite size for

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

361 342 the lodge. These floors or foundations are all perfectly circular, and varying in size in proportion to the number of inmates, or of the quality or standing of the families which are to occupy them. The superstructure is then produced, by arranging, inside of this circular excavation, firmly fixed in the ground and resting against the bank, a barrier or wall of timbers, some eight or nine inches in diameter, of equal height (about six feet) placed on end, and resting against each other, supported by a formidable embankment of earth raised against them outside; then, resting upon the tops of these timbers or piles, are others of equal size and equal in numbers, of twenty or twenty-five feet in length, resting firmly against each other, and sending their upper or smaller ends towards the centre and top of the lodge; rising at an angle of forty-five degrees to the apex or sky-light, which is about three or four feet in diameter, answering as a chimney and a sky-light at the same time. The roof of the lodge being thus formed, is supported by beams passing around the inner part of the lodge about the middle of these poles or timbers, and themselves upheld by four or five large posts passing down to the floor of the lodge. On the top of, and over the poles forming the roof, is placed a complete mat of willow-boughs, of half a foot or more in thickness, which protects the timbers from the dampness of the earth, with which the lodge is covered from bottom to top, to the depth of two or three feet; and then with a hard or tough clay, which is impervious to water, and which with long use becomes quite hard, and a lounging place for the whole family in pleasant weather—for sage— for wooing lovers—for dogs and all; an airing place—a look-out—a place for gossip and mirth—a seat for the solitary gaze and meditations of the stern warrior, who sits and contemplates the peaceful mirth and happiness that is breathed beneath him, fruits of his hard-fought battles, on fields of desperate combat with bristling Red Men.

342 353 The floors of these dwellings are of earth, but so hardened by use, and swept so clean, and tracked by bare and moccassined feet, that they have almost a polish, and would scarcely soil the whitest linen. In the centre, [354] and immediately under the sky-light (PLATE 46) is the fire-place—a hole of four or five feet in diameter, of a circular form, sunk a foot or more below the surface, and curbed around with stone. Over the fire-place, and suspended from the apex of diverging props or poles, is generally seen the pot or kettle, filled with buffalo meat; and around it are the family, reclining in all the most picturesque attitudes and groups, resting on their buffalo-robes [592] and beautiful mats of rushes. These cabins are so spacious, that they hold from twenty to forty persons—a family and all their connexions. They all 352 sleep on bedsteads similar in form to ours, but generally not quite so high; made of round poles rudely lashed together with thongs. A buffalo skin, fresh stripped from the animal, is stretched across the bottom poles, and about two feet from the floor; which, when it dries, becomes much contracted, and forms a perfect sacking-bottom. The fur side of this skin is placed uppermost, on which they lie with great comfort, with a buffalo-robe

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

LETTER—No. 12.

MANDAN VILLAGE, UPPER MISSOURI.

000 In my last, I gave some account of the village, and the customs, and appearances of this strange people,—and I will now proceed to give further details on that subject.

I have this morning, perched myself upon the top of one of the earth-covered lodges, which I have before described, and having the whole village beneath and about me (PLATE 47), with its sachems—its warriors—its dogs —and its horses in motion—its medicines (or mysteries) and scalp-poles waving over my head—its piquets—its green fields and prairies, and river in full view, with the din and bustle of the thrilling panorama that is about me. I shall be able, I hope, to give some sketches more to the life than I could have done from any effort of recollection.

• 361 I said that the lodges or wigwams were covered with earth—were of forty or sixty feet in diameter, and so closely grouped that there was but just room enough to walk and ride between them,—that they had a door by which to enter them, and a hole in the top for the admission of light, and for the smoke to escape,—that the inmates were at times grouped upon their tops in conversations and other amusements, &c.; and yet you know not exactly how they look, nor what is the precise appearance of the strange world that is about me. There is really a newness and rudeness in every thing that is to be seen. There are several hundred houses or dwellings about me, and they are purely unique—they are all covered with dirt—the people are all red, and yet distinct from all other red folks I have seen. The horses are wild—every dog is a wolf—the whole moving mass are strangers to me: the living, in everything, carry an air of intractable wildness about them, and the dead are not buried, but dried upon scaffolds.

The groups of lodges around me present a very curious and pleasing appearance, resembling in shape (more nearly than anything else I can compare them to) so many potash-kettles inverted. On the tops of these are to 461 be seen groups standing and reclining, whose wild and picturesque appearance it would be difficult to describe. Stern warriors, like statues, standing in dignified groups, wrapped in their painted robes, with their heads decked and plumed with quills of the war-eagle; extending their long arms to

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[facing p. 87]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

461 the east or the west, the scenes of their battles, which they are recounting over to each other. In another direction, the wooing lover, softening the heart of his fair Taih-nah-tai-a with the notes of his simple lute. On other lodges, and beyond these, groups are engaged in games of the "moccasin," or the "platter." Some are to be seen manufacturing robes and dresses, and others, fatigued with amusements or occupations, have stretched their limbs to enjoy the luxury of sleep, whilst basking in the sun. With all this wild and varied medley of living beings are mixed their dogs, which seem to be so near an Indian's heart, as almost to constitute a material link of his existence.

361 778 In the centre of the village is an open space, or public area, of 150 feet in diameter, and circular in form, which is used for all public games and festivals, shews and exhibitions; and also for their "annual religious ceremonies," which are soon to take place, and of which I shall hereafter give some account. The lodges around this open space front in, with their doors towards the centre; and in the middle of this circle stands an object of great religious veneration, as I am told, on account of the importance it has in the conduction of those annual religious rites.

778 This object is in form of a large hogshead, some eight or ten feet high, made of planks and hoops, containing within it some of their choicest medicines or mysteries, and religiously preserved unhacked or scratched, as a symbol of the "Big Canoe," as they call it.

One of the lodges fronting on this circular area, and facing this strange object of their superstition, is called the "Medicine Lodge," or council house. It is in this sacred building that these wonderful ceremonies, in commemoration of the flood, take place. I am told by the Traders that the cruelties of these scenes are frightful and abhorrent in the extreme; and that this huge wigwam, which is now closed, has been built exclusively for this grand celebration. I am every day reminded of the near approach of the season for this strange affair, and as I have not yet seen any thing of it, I cannot describe it; I know it only from the relations of the Traders who have witnessed parts of it; and their descriptions are of so extraordinary a character, that I would not be willing to describe until I can see for myself, —which will, in all probability, be in a few days.

351 778 In ranging the eye over the village from where I am writing, there is presented to the view the strangest mixture and medley of unintelligible trash (independant of the living beings that are in motion), that can possibly be imagined. On the roofs of the lodges, besides the groups of living, are buffaloes' skulls, skin canoes, pots and pottery; sleds and sledges—and suspended on poles, erected some twenty feet above the doors of their wigwams, are displayed in a pleasant day, the scalps of warriors, preserved as trophies; and thus proudly exposed as evidence of their warlike deeds. In other parts are raised on poles the warriors' pure and whitened shields and quivers, with medicine-bags attached; and here and there a sacrifice of red

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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[facing p. 132]

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ingly grotesque and amusing, and that part of them which has a relation to the Deluge is harmless and full of interest.

In the centre of the Mandan village is an open, circular area of 150 feet diameter, kept always clear, as a public ground, for the display of all their public feasts, parades, &c. and around it are their wigwams placed as near to each other as they can well stand, their doors facing the centre of this public area.

In the middle of this ground, which is trodden like a hard pavement, is a curb (somewhat like a large hogshead standing on its end) made of planks (and bound with hoops), some eight or nine feet high, which they religiously preserve and protect from year to year, free from mark or scratch, and which they call the "big canoe"—it is undoubtedly a symbolic representation of a part of their traditional history of the Flood; which it is very evident, from this and numerous other features of this grand ceremony, they have in some way or other received, and are here endeavouring to perpetuate by vividly impressing it on the minds of the whole nation. This object of superstition, from its position, as the very centre of the village is the rallying point of the whole nation. To it their devotions are paid on various occasions of feasts and religious exercises during the year; and in this extraordinary scene it was often the nucleus of their mysteries and cruelties, as I shall shortly describe them, and becomes an object worth bearing in mind, and worthy of being understood.

This exciting and appalling scene, then, which is familiarly (and no doubt correctly) called the "Mandan religious ceremony," commences, not on a particular day of the year, (for these people keep no record of days or weeks), but at a particular season, which is designated by the full expansion of the willow leaves under the bank of the river; for according to their tradition, "the twig that the bird brought home was a willow bough, and had full-grown leaves on it," and the bird to which they allude, is the mourning or turtle-dove, which they took great pains to point out to me, as it is often to be seen feeding on the sides of their earth-covered lodges, and which, being, as they call it, a *medicine-bird*, is not to be destroyed or harmed by any one, and even their dogs are instructed not to do it injury.

On the morning on which this strange transaction commenced, I was sitting at breakfast in the house of the Trader, Mr. Kipp, when at sun-rise, we were suddenly startled by the shrieking and screaming of the women, and barking and howling of dogs, as if an enemy were actually storming their village.

"Now we have it!" (exclaimed *mine host*, as he sprang from the table,) the grand ceremony has commenced!—drop your knife and fork, Monst. and get your sketch-book as soon as possible, that you may lose nothing, for the very moment of *commencing* is as curious as anything else of this strange affair." I seized my sketch-book, and all hands of us were in an instant in front of the medicine-lodge, ready to see and to hear all that was to take place. Groups of women and children were gathered on the tops of

9:Bruner E-5 (1951-1953) 1956
NQ17 Mandan NQ17

white, would be favorably predisposed toward white ways. But the descendants of the previously mentioned Irishman are biologically part white, yet they remain unacculturated; and there are three families who have had a white model but who have not become acculturated. Another possible explanation is that the lighter skin color per se allows the children of mixed marriages to "pass" in local white society. The data does not confirm this notion either, as an Indian's ability to be accepted by local whites depends upon how he behaves rather than upon his racial characteristics. A series of relevant factors in the total situation, when taken together, do give at least partial understanding of the importance of white intermarriage. They add up to a picture of such extreme psychological and social isolation of the Indian people that a white person married into the family becomes the primary agent by which white ways and values are learned and internalized.

Lone Hill is physically isolated between the Missouri and the Little Missouri rivers, and contact with white people is thus infrequent and limited. There are no stores, no paved roads, and no post office in the village. The only whites who reside in Lone Hill itself are the two teachers in the government grade school, who rarely participate in community affairs. None of the whites currently married to Indians live permanently in the village today, although a few couples occasionally return to Lone Hill, during which time they stay with Indian families. There are two ways to travel to the surrounding towns: either across the Missouri River by boat during the summer and over the ice in winter, or by making a sixty-mile trip over dirt roads through irregular rolling hills and flat-topped buttes. Anyone who has lived in Lone Hill during the late spring comes to realize the meaning of isolation. The ice over the river is too thin for passage, the roads become blocked by mud and melting show, and the one telephone usually breaks down and remains unrepaired. Mail and supplies are often dropped by airplane. The physical isolation works in a double way—few whites come to Lone Hill and few Indians leave.

The Mandan-Hidatsa have never experienced a serious ecological readjustment, as they have lived along the Missouri River Valley for at least the two centuries preceding the completion of this study in 1953. The Indian people today are certainly dependent upon the American economic system for their cash income, but almost every family in Lone Hill derives a relatively large noncash income from exploitation of the natural resources of the area. This exploitation is similar in some respects to the adjustment made by the aboriginal earth lodge tribes to the same fertile river bottom lands. Fuel is provided by wood from the timber, and from indigenous lignite outcroppings. Over half the families live in log cabins, which they erect themselves from timber found in the wooded bottoms. The food staples of corn and potatoes are obtained in part from small garden plots, now jointly worked by the men and women of the household. The meat supply depends largely upon the man's ability as a hunter of deer and small game. Abundant wild fruits and berries are gathered during the appropriate seasons and are preserved for use during the winter months. Thus, many of the economic goods which are normally

10: Neill H4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

224 Not one do they allow to escape, large and small, fat and lean, all must fall to prevent their alarming other herds.

The manner of hunting the buffalo answers another good purpose, which is that the bad and dull horses have an equal share with the best racers.

DIVISION OF THE BUFFALO HUNT.

[141] They never make use of fire arms in hunting the buffalo. The bow and arrow is the only weapon. When a hunting excursion is in agitation among the Mandans, they inform their neighbors on the north shore, and the Saulteurs (Fall Indians.) The Big Bellies have their own parties and seldom interfere with the others. They never go in the same direction, the one goes to the northeast[1] and the others to the southwest. The [131] Knife River, indeed, seems to be the boundary line. The day is fixed for their departure, when early in the morning as many as are inclined to be of the party assemble upon the rising grounds in the rear of the village, about one and a half miles to the south. When all are ready they proceed in one body to find out the buffalo, and seldom or never return light. I observed that on their arrival, an extraordinary custom prevailed among them — the horses are instantly unloaded and the meat taken into the huts, where it is spread out upon the ground and exposed for some time before the master or mistress of the hut makes use of it. Soon after it is arrived, the women whose 43 husbands or sons have been hunting, enter the huts of those 224 who have meat, when the mistress instantly gives them a share, and they walk away with it, so that it often happens that there remains not a mouthful for her own family. When this is the case, she, in her turn, goes to the huts of some of her friends who have been hunting and comes away with a load. I observed that in several huts of those who had not been hunting, there was more meat than in those who had been out. It is also customary for the old men and the old women, who have no sons, nor particular friends, to march out on the first news of the hunters' approach, to the distance of a mile or more, where they sit by the road, and almost every hunter in passing drops them a piece of meat. By these means every individual has a share of what has been killed.

VILLAGES LIKE MOLE HILLS.

● 361 These villages at a distance have the appearance of a cluster of mole hills, or musk rat cabins. They are nearly of a circular form. The huts are placed in a very irregular manner, and some so very close to each other, as scarcely to admit of a foot-passenger; others again, at a distance of twenty to thirty feet from each other.

1 [Henry says southwest.-A.]

10: Neill H-4(no date) 1884 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

OPEN SPACE IN VILLAGE.

But I observe, always, that nearly about the centre of each village is a large open space of about four acres in circumference, round which the huts are built very regularly, and at equal distances from each other, the doors fronting the open space. This circle might consist of thirty huts, and I make no manner of doubt were the first that were erected on the spot. 361●

VILLAGE EXPANSION.

Others of their friends joined them afterwards, for various causes and built in the rear and erected their huts as they found it convenient, and as this continues to be the case, there are huts continually demolishing in one village, and others building in another. This often proceeds from misunderstandings they have had with either of the chiefs of the village, or their own neighbors, when finding their situation unpleasant and probably subject to frequent quarrels, they shift their quarters, but always take up their own residence among their own tribe. 361 621 578

The Mandans and Saulteurs are a stationary people, and never abandon their villages further than to go out hunting or on a war party. They are much more given to agriculture than the Big Bellies, and raise an immense quantity of corn, beans, squashes, tobacco, and some flowers. 361 241

A MANDAN HUT.

A Mandan hut is large and spacious, of a circular form. I measured the one I lodged in, and found it ninety feet from the door to the opposite side, forming a circumference on the inside of many paces. The whole space is dug out about one and a half fect below the surface of the earth. In the center is the fire place, which is a square space of about five feet, dug out two feet below the surface. The lower part of the hut is constructed by erecting strong posts about six feet out of the ground, at equal distances, upon these are laid logs of the same size, and reach from post to post, and form the circle. On the outer side are erected pieces of split wood of seven feet in length, in a slanting manner, the one end resting on the ground, the other leaning against the crown log or beam. Upon this beam again, are placed rafters about the size of a man's leg, and from twelve to fifteen feet long, in a slanting position, sufficient to drain off the rain; they are laid so close as to touch. The upper end is supported upon very stout pieces of square timber, which last are also supported by four very thick posts, about five feet circumference, and fifteen feet out of the ground, and fifteen feet asunder, forming nearly a square. Over these pieces of square timber, others again of equal size are laid crossing them at right 342 [354]

437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

●361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all